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NOTES

ON

CHINESE MEDIÆVAL TRAVELLERS //

TO THE WEST

BY

E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D.

Physician to the Russian Legation at Peking.



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TO
ARCHIMANDRITE PALLADIUS,

THE LEARNED SINOLOGUE
AND INVESTIGATOR OF ASIATIC ANTIQUITIES,

This little Essay

IS RESPECTFULLY AND THANKFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

HIS FRIEND AND ADMIRER,

E. BRETSCHNEIDER.

PREFACE.

This little brochure now presented to the learned world, was originally published in the Chinese Recorder at Shanghai; and I have to thank the editor of that periodical, for the great attention he has paid to the sheets while passing through the press. Being so distant from the place of publication, it was impossible for me to improve or revise these pages. The reader may, on this account, occasionally observe blemishes and inadvertencies. As the first part of these notes was printed before I had begun to write the succeeding portion, there is here and there a want of harmony; and while pursuing further these investigations, I was sometimes obliged to change my views. I beg therefore, that the reader, who may occasionally be struck with seeming contradictions, will peruse the additional notes at the end. In some of my identifications and conclusions, I may sometimes be mistaken. It has always been my endeavour, however, not to impose my views upon the reader, but to lead him to form an opinion for himself, drawn from the facts brought together. *Citius emergit veritas ex errore quam ex confusione.*

In publishing these pages, the principal object in view has been to furnish *savants* interested in the ancient history and geography of Asia, with some interesting materials found in ancient Chinese literature. I have tried to make these translations as correct as possible, and it seems to me, that Peking is the only place, where such investigations can be successfully made; for the greater part of the ancient Chinese books required for reference can hardly be found in any European library, or in other libraries elsewhere in China. Peking is also the residence, at the present time, of several of the most accomplished sinologues, besides which there is no want of erudite native scholars; so that even a beginner, as I am, in this branch of knowledge, is in a position to understand Chinese works of difficult style, which could hardly be translated

correctly in Europe. I am however, far from asserting that my version is unimpeachable. Every sinologue knows how apt the ambiguous Chinese style is to give rise to misunderstandings, and often the Chinese themselves are unable to solve the difficulties.

At the time I wrote the translation of Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, I had not access to a good book of reference for identifying the dates occurring in the Chinese text, with the corresponding European dates ; and I have therefore always given the Chinese dates, and mentioned the corresponding European days only approximately. Subsequently Mr. Wylie had the kindness to draw my attention to the importance of specifying the European dates, for Ch'ang-ch'un mentions precisely the date of a total eclipse of the sun, which was seen in western as well as in eastern Asia. As I know Mr. Wylie has given some attention to Chinese astronomy and chronology, I requested him to do me the favour of writing a few explanatory notes regarding this question, to which he kindly agreed.

In conclusion I have to state, that instead of *three* narratives of travel as announced in the Introduction, *one more* is added, for which I need not apologize.

E. B.

PEKING,

December 20th, 1874.



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N O T E S
ON
CHINESE MEDIÆVAL TRAVELLERS TO THE WEST.

BY E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D.

INTRODUCTION.

CHINESE literature, so vast in extent, contains very considerable accounts of the geography of Asia at different times, and of the peoples living formerly in that part of the ancient world. The greater part of these accounts of Asiatic peoples beyond China proper, is to be found in the histories of the various dynasties, which have up to the present time successively ruled in China. At the end of each of these dynastic histories, twenty-four in number, a chapter more or less extensive is found devoted to the foreign countries and peoples, who came in contact with the Chinese empire. They are generally termed 四夷 *sze-yi*, "the four kinds of barbarians" (in allusion to the four quarters of the globe). These notices were probably collected by Chinese envoys sent to those countries, or compiled from the reports of envoys or merchants of those countries coming to China. Almost all Chinese works treating of foreign countries, drew their accounts from these sources; and even the celebrated geographer and historian *Ma Tuan-lin*, who wrote under the Mongol dynasty, has for the greater part compiled his excellent work, the *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*, from the dynastic histories.

Another category of Chinese accounts of foreign countries, is drawn up in the form of narratives of journeys undertaken by Chinese. It seems the Chinese never travelled for pleasure, or visited distant countries for the purpose of enlarging the sphere of their ideas, as Europeans are accustomed to do. All the narratives of travel we meet in Chinese literature, owe their origin either to military expeditions, or official missions of the Chinese emperors, or they were written by Buddhist or other pilgrims, who visited India or other parts of Asia, famed for their sanctity. The number of such reports, written by Chinese travellers, on different parts of Asia beyond China is by no

means inconsiderable. They often contain very valuable accounts regarding the ancient geography of Asia ; but it is not easy to lay them under contribution, in elucidating this subject in a European scientific sense. Generally it is difficult to search them out ; for they do not exist as separate works, but lie concealed among the numerous volumes of the Chinese collections of reprints or *ts'ung shu*. A great part of these interesting ancient narratives of travels have been lost, and their existence in former times is only known by ancient catalogues or by the quotations of other Chinese authors.

In order that western science may profit by the study of these narratives it is necessary, not only that they be correctly translated, but these translations require a great number of explanations, without which they would still remain unintelligible to *savants* unacquainted with the Chinese language and the Chinese manner of viewing things, so different from our way of looking at the same.

I intend in the present papers, to give some translations of ancient Chinese accounts of travels to western Asia, and will try to explain them, as far as my knowledge and the means of reference at my disposal will permit. But I will confine my investigations solely to the period embraced by the 13th century, the period of the development, and the zenith of the power of the Mongols in Asia. It seems that at that time eastern Mongolia was connected with Persia and Russia by great highways through central Asia, passing through countries which, notwithstanding the spirit of enterprise and discovery of our present century, remain still (for a great part at least) as far as Europeans are concerned, as little known as the interior of Australia. The Chinese and Mongol writers record, that *Tchinguiz Khan* on his expedition to western Asia, in 1219, first established these roads, and had many difficulties in leading them through the inaccessible mountains, which in some places stopped the passage. It is further related, that *Tchinguiz Khan's* successor *Ogotai Khan* established on these roads military stations on a large scale. At that time considerable Mongol armies were sent repeatedly to the far west, overrunning western Asia, and the eastern part of Europe. Couriers passed hither and thither, as well as envoys from different western kingdoms ; and even the kings themselves were often obliged to render homage in person to the great Khan, at his residence in the depths of Mongolia. We learn from the Russian annals, that three Russian grand-dukes were forced to undertake the long and painful journey to Caracorum, in order to obtain their investiture from the Great Khan. One of them, the *Grand-duke Yaroslav* died on his way home in 1246. We know no particulars regarding these journeys of Russian grand-dukes, but another sovereign of the

west, *Haïton*, the king of Little Armenia, has described his journey to the court of *Coujouc Khan* in 1246. About the same time, Pope Innocent despatched the Franciscan monk *Plano Carpini* to Caracorum, and some years later another Franciscan monk *Rubruquis* visited the court of the *Great Khan Mangou*. Descriptions of both journeys have come down to us. Finally the great traveller *Marco Polo* traversed central Asia towards the end of the 13th century, and left behind detailed accounts of the countries he visited, which have been for several centuries the subject of learned investigations and commentaries of distinguished orientalists.

Considering the rich material furnished by these European mediæval travellers in relation to the knowledge of the ancient geography of central Asia, and the detailed accounts on the same subject given by several Persian authors, contemporary with the rise of the Mongol empire,—it seems to me, that some notices about what the Chinese authors of the same period say regarding central and western Asia, will present some interest. Besides numerous statements relating to the above-mentioned countries, found scattered in the History of the Yüan (or Mongol) dynasty (元史), and other Chinese historical works treating of the Mongols, there exist three narratives of journeys to the far west, published during the Yüan dynasty, and these form the subject of the following pages. But before entering upon the examination of them, I may be allowed to say a few words, intended more for readers unacquainted with Chinese, on the translations of ancient Chinese historical and geographical documents into European languages.

I need not mention, that the Chinese language for an European mind is the most difficult in the world. It is generally believed in Europe, that this language is a very rich one (the number of characters being estimated at 80,000, of which the great Dictionary of Kanghi explains about 40,000), and that every conception is expressed by a separate character. This view is not correct. The number of characters we meet in Chinese books is limited; some estimate them at 5000 only, and most of the characters have numerous meanings, which depend upon their combination with other characters, upon the branch of science of which the book treats, and often also upon the time at which the book was written. The character 實 *shi* for instance means *really*, but in botanical works the *fruits of plants* are designated by this hieroglyph. For the understanding of Chinese books, it is therefore not sufficient to know the meaning of the single characters, but their position must be taken into consideration, as well as their combinations with other characters. In translating from the Chinese, the principal ques-

tion is the understanding of groups of words in their connection, or phrases, not of single words; for very often the single characters in a phrase lose completely their original meaning. In the dictionaries for example, you find 駙 *fu* to assist and 馬 *ma* horse. But 駙馬 is not "an assistant horse," but is used in Chinese historical writings always to designate the *son-in-law of the emperor*. Chinese literature is very rich in such combinations, and phrases formed by two or more characters; and the original meaning of the characters, in most of the cases, does not serve to explain the phrases. It is in vain then that you look for them in the dictionaries; the greater part, although often unknown to our European sinologues, have come down by tradition to the Chinese of the present day, and they are so familiarized with these terms, that they consider it superfluous to incorporate them in the dictionaries. A Chinese dictionary in a European language, with a good collection of phrases, is still a desideratum. At least all existing dictionaries are of no value to the reader as regards the Chinese historical style, and if he consults only Morrison's or other dictionaries, he runs the risk of committing the greatest mistakes.

In Chinese historical writings or narratives of journeys, one meets with a great many proper names. The Chinese in rendering names of countries or men, are obliged to represent every syllable of the name by a similar-sounding hieroglyph (it is known that all Chinese words are monosyllabic). As every hieroglyph has a meaning, it is sometimes difficult for a European scholar, translating without a native teacher, to distinguish whether the characters represent only sounds, or whether they must be translated. I will, further on, show how often European translators have committed errors of this kind.

Another difficulty for the European reader of Chinese books, arises from the complete ignorance of the Chinese of our system of punctuation. They have some characters which denote the end of a period, but they seldom make use of them; and generally one finds no break in a whole chapter; so that the reader must decide for himself where a point is to be supplied. An erroneous punctuation sometimes changes the sense of the whole period, or even the whole article.

Since the Catholic missionaries first became acquainted, some centuries ago, with China and its immense literary treasures, the learned world in Europe has been much taken up with the accounts of these missionaries and their translations of Chinese books. It has been found, that the Chinese historical works contain numerous statements about the people and countries of Asia and their histories, and notices of the early intercourse between China and the peoples of western Asia and even of Europe. We possess at present numerous translations from

the Chinese, designed to throw light on the ancient history and geography of Asia. The number however of sinologues engaged in this department of investigation is not very large, and I think when enumerating *Visdelou*, *Gaubil*, *Du Mailla*, *Deguignes*, *Klaproth*, *Rémusat*, *Stan. Julien*, *Pauthier*, *Father Hyacinth*, *Archimandrite Palladius*, and *Prof. Wassilyeff*, I have mentioned the most conspicuous amongst them. As regards the exactness of these translations, it seems to me they must be classed in two categories, one consisting of translations made with the assistance of Chinese scholars, or at least by sinologues who studied in China; and the other of translations published in Europe by self-taught sinologues, who never had the opportunity of consulting a native. The translations of Hyacinth, Palladius and Wassilyeff always render the exact sense as it is understood by erudite Chinese of the present day; but if one compares the translations of these Russian sinologues with those of Rémusat, Klaproth, &c., there will be often found a great divergence in their interpretation of the Chinese phraseology. Klaproth and Father Hyacinth hold, without doubt the first places amongst the orientalists engaged in the investigation of the ancient history of central and eastern Asia. But, although the translations of Hyacinth are more numerous and more correct than those of Klaproth, I am far from assigning the former the first place; for Klaproth has rendered immense services by his critical researches into Chinese literature, and the comparison of the statements of the Chinese with the accounts given by western peoples;—whilst in Hyacinth's translations, one is struck with the complete absence of criticism. Hyacinth gives always a translation very true to the original, but it is very seldom he ventures upon a conclusion. He was well acquainted with Chinese history and geography, but only from a Chinese point of view. The material he furnished however is very precious, for his numerous translations are very correct and intelligible.

A great number of interesting articles, especially geographical, have been translated from Chinese works, by the well-known French orientalist *M. G. Pauthier*. He has devoted a great part of his life to the study of Chinese. Ten years ago Pauthier published his principal work, "*Le livre de Marco Polo*," full of the most interesting accounts, brought together from numerous mediæval authors, in order to confirm and elucidate the statements of the great traveller. Translations from Chinese books can be met with on almost every page, and in the introduction to the work the reader will find three long translations drawn from Chinese authors, and relating to the expedition of the Mongols to the west. Pauthier would have done better not to have included translations from the Chinese in his "*Marco Polo*;" for they have

diminished considerably the value of that work; his translations being for the most part in complete contradiction with the sense intended by the Chinese authors. Advancing such a grave accusation against a renowned sinologue, I feel obliged to produce some proof for the satisfaction of competent readers. Such evidence will serve also to illustrate the above explanation of the difficulties which occur to the student of Chinese in translating Chinese books, and especially historical and geographical articles.

Pauthier often commits errors in translating the names of official titles, ranks and offices. It is indeed frequently difficult to find an equivalent for these names in European languages; but it ought not to occur, as for instance with Pauthier, to translate 留守司 *Liu shou sse* as "Inspectorate of jail." In his Marco Polo, p. 224, note, the reader will find a translation from the *Yüan shi* about K'ai-p'ing fu, the second residence of Coubilaï Khan. P. translates:—"En 1265, on y établit [à Khai-ping fou] une Direction des détenus (*Lieou chéou sse*).” Indeed in Morrison's dictionary you find:—*lew*—"to detain," *show*—"to guard," *sze*—"to direct;" but the three characters together, as is known, mean a governorship in a capital, and have nothing to do with a jail.

In another case P. takes the Mongol title of governor for the name of a place. Compare his translation of Tchinguiz Khan's expedition to western Asia, *l. c.* cxix: "Ils. [P. means Tchinguiz's army.] établirent leur quartier-général à Ta-lou-hoa-tcha." The phrase so translated is in the Chinese text 置達魯花赤監治之 and must be rendered:—"There (*i. e.* in the conquered country) *t'a-lu-hua-ch'i* were established to govern the country." The latter title occurs very often in the *Yüan shi* or History of the Mongol dynasty, and means a Mongol governor. The Chinese authors explain it by 掌印 *Chang-yin* (an officer, who keeps the seal). At the present day this Mongol word seems to be unknown, but Rashid-edden the great Persian historiographer (end of the 13th cent.) confirms the Chinese account, in stating that the Mongol governors are called *darouga*, evidently the same as *t'a-lu-hua-ch'i*, which name is also found on ancient Persian coins of the time of the Mongols. (Cf. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, p. 410). The mistake P. made about *t'a-lu-hua-ch'i* leads him into another error. He identifies it with a place Colan-Tachi mentioned by Persian authors.

Pauthier is much puzzled to know how to translate the character 師 *shi*, which occurs very often in the Chinese books he translated. According to the dictionaries *shi* means "an army, a general, a master, a teacher." In his translation of the travels of the Taoist monk Ch'ang-ch'un (*Journal Asiatique*, 1867), he renders this character almost always by army. v. p. 59,—“L'armée lui donna le nom de *T'ien-chi*

(Lac du Ciel)." v. p. 53,—“Les troupes se mirent à rire (à cette recommandation) et ne répondirent pas.” I need not mention that here *shi* must be translated by “master”; then Ch’ang-ch’un himself is meant, and he did not travel at the head of an army. Happily in Pauthier’s text, the verses the master made on many occasions on his road are omitted, otherwise we should probably read in his translation of a versifying army.

In his translation of the expedition of Houlagou (Marco Polo, cxxxiii—cl), P. always renders the characters 王師 *Wang-shi*, which occur there repeatedly, by “prince du sang.” Rémusat, who translated the same article, has: “le général tartare.” But *wang-shi* in historical writings has no other meaning than: “the imperial army.” Owing to this mistake, both P. and R. misunderstood the whole article.

In translating Chinese accounts of foreign countries, the sounds of the characters which represent the names of places, or other proper names, must be correctly rendered; and if several proper names succeed one another, they must be rightly divided. In the travels of Ch’ang-ch’un, already mentioned, p. 60, the name of a river 達刺思 *T’a-la-sze* is mentioned, which can be identified doubtless with the river Talas in Russian Turkestan. But Pauthier mistook the character 刺, *la* for the similar-looking one 刺 *tz’e* and read *T’a-tsze-sze*. He adds immediately a second mistake, in translating 土人呼河爲沒鰲 *t’u jen hu ho wei mu lien*, “Les gens du pays appellent ce fleuve *Wei-mou-lien*.” The correct translation is:—“In the language of the country a river is called *mu-lien* (*muren*—“river” in Mongol). The character *wei* means “to be,” and cannot be connected with *mu-lien*. Finally P. adds a third mistake, in identifying this river with a tributary of the Ili river.

In the translation of Tchinguiz Khan’s expedition to western Asia (Marco Polo, cxvii), we find:—“Les fils impériaux . . . allèrent attaquer les villes de *Yü-loung-ki-tchi*, de *Ma-lou-tcha*, de *Yah-rh-ma-lou*, de *Si-la-sze* (Chiraz).” Pauthier, who always attaches absolute credit to the stupid identifications and commentaries of the author of the *Hai kuo t’u chi*,* identifies *Yü-loung-ki-tchi* with a river *Yü-loung ho-chi* in

* The 海國圖志 *Hai kuo t’u chi* was published about thirty years ago. The author compiled the ancient Chinese statements about western and other countries beyond China, and tried to identify them, without having an idea of the geography of Asia. In his identifications he is only guided by similarity of sounds, and is never embarrassed in identifying an ancient name of a place in Persia, with a modern name of a place in Mongolia, if there is a slight resemblance in the sounds. I am astonished, that even the great sinologue Stan. Julien has been mistaken as regards the value of this work. Compare his “Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique” pp. 124—138. Pauthier has often been misled by the notes of the *Hai kuo t’u chi*.

Khotan,—Yarmalou with Yarkand,—and Si-la-sze with Shiraz. In the original text (*Yüan shi*) we find 玉龍傑赤馬魯察葉可馬魯昔刺思 *yü lung kie ch'i ma lu ch'a ye k'o ma lu si la sze*. By these characters three or four names of places are rendered; the difficulty is how to divide and separate the names. After having compared Rashid-eddin's description of the expedition of Tchinguiz Khan to Persia, and the names of the cities taken by the conqueror and his sons, I came to the conclusion that four places are mentioned. By *yü-lung-kie-ch'i* is to be understood *Orcandje* or *Keurcandje*, the ancient capital of Khovarism. The second place is *Ma-lu-ch'a-ye-ko* and means *Maroutchak*, a district belonging to Marou or Merv,—(D'Ohsson *l. c.* I, p. 280). The next two characters *Ma-lu* mean *Marou* or *Merv*. *Si-la-sze* is not Shiraz as Pauthier believes, but *Serakhss*, not far from Merv (D'Ohsson *l. c.* 281). Tchinguiz Khan's armies never reached Shiraz, which was first taken by the Mongols more than thirty years later.

Pauthier continues his translation: "Touloui et d'autres généraux se divisèrent pour aller attaquer les villes de *Sse-ni*, de *Tcha-ou-rh*," and suggests that *Sze-ni* may be *Nissa* of the Mohammedan authors. The Chinese text has: 攻徙思匿察兀兒 *kung t'u sze ni ch'a wu rh*, which must be translated, I think: "They took *T'u-sze* (*Thus*, the native place of the poet Firdusi and of the celebrated astronomer Nassureddin), and *Ni-ch'a-wu-rh* (Nishapur). Both places are mentioned by Rashid-eddin as being destroyed by the armies of Tchinguiz Khan. Pauthier did not recognize that the character *t'u* forms a part of a proper name and therefore must not be translated.

As the rightly discerning and spelling of proper names occurring in Chinese historical articles, is most important in a translation, let me quote yet another blunder of this kind, I met in the same translation of Tchinguiz Khan's expedition to the west. In the Chinese text (*Hai kuo t'u chi*) we find: 至北印度角端見班師 *chi pei yin du kue tuan kien pan shi*. Pauthier *l. c.* cxix, translates: "Ils arrivèrent dans l'Inde septentrionale, au lieu dit: *Kio-touan-kian* ('perspective du pic droit en forme de corne,' que l'on nomme en sanscrit: *Gridhra-kout'a*, 'le pic du Vautour')." This phrase is indeed difficult to understand without knowing the meaning of, "*küe-tuan*," which is not a name of a place, but the name of a fabulous animal. In the biography of Ye-lü-ch'u-ts'ai, the celebrated minister of Tchinguiz Khan (*Yüan shi*, chap. 146), we find, that Tchinguiz after having advanced as far as India, met a strange animal with one horn, which advised the conqueror to go back and to stop his conquests. This animal bore the name "*küe-tuan*" (upright horn). The above passage then should be translated: "They (Tchinguiz's army) reached *pei yin-du* (northern

India) where they met the küe-tuan. After having seen it the army withdrew." The characters *pan shi*, met very often in Chinese historical writings, mean always "the army withdrew;" but Pauthier making an erroneous punctuation, connects *pan shi* with the next phrase and translates "général en chef." In his "Voyage de Tchang tchun," pp. 84, 85, he translates the same phrase *pan shi* by "distribua des récompenses à son armée." *Pan* indeed sometimes also means "distribute," but *pan shi* has no other meaning than "the army withdrew."

I stated above, that it is often difficult for a European sinologue (seldom if ever for a Chinese scholar), to decide whether Chinese characters represent a proper name or require to be translated. Here is an example taken from Pauthier's Marco Polo. On page cxxxv, note, I find a translation which states: "Ils rentrèrent sous la domination de *Pan-thou* (Batou, khan du Kiptchak)." Being struck by this statement,—for Batou, the conqueror of Russia had his dominions in the neighborhood of the Caspian sea and the Volga, while the Ouigours were a people of eastern Asia,—I consulted the Chinese text, and was much astonished to find that P. translated the three characters 入版圖 *ju pan t'u* by "rentrèrent sous la domination de Batou." *Ju* means "enter," *pan t'u*—"geographical map;" so that *ju pan t'u* will mean: "enter in the geographical map," or "to be attached to the empire." In the present case the Chinese author suggested that the Ouigours were attached to the empire, not of Batou, but of the Great Khan, who resided in eastern Mongolia.

Completely unintelligible for the reader, is a passage found in one of P's. translations from the Chinese (M. Polo, cxxxi): "l'armée s'étant arrêtée pour prendre de la nourriture, on ordonna dans le camp de ne se servir que du mors et de l'aiguillon, et de laisser les flèches." The Chinese text is 令軍中銜枚傳箭 *ling kün chung hien mei chuan tsien*. One will find in Morrison's dictionary *hien mei*—"a cross piece of wood put in the mouth as a gag when entering into battle;" *chuan tsien*—"to transmit an arrow." This passage as translated by P. seems altogether nonsense; but the above-mentioned gag was put in the mouths of the horses in order to prevent their neighing. Therefore *hien mei* means also "silently." Thus the above-mentioned passage must be translated: "The army received order (to move) silently; the order was transmitted (also silently) in presenting an arrow (not by beating gongs)."

In the *Si yu ki* is a passage 行二百里達沙陀北頗有草水更涉沙陀百餘里方及回紇城 which has been translated by Pauthier (Voyage de Tchang-tch'un, l. c. pp. 52, 53) as follows: "On marche pendant deux cents li. On pénètre dans le nord des steppes sablonneux (*chá t'ô*), où il y a excessivement d'herbes aquatiques; et,

pour changer, on fait plus de cent *li* au milieu des steppes, ayant de l'eau jusqu'aux genoux. Alors on atteint la ville fortifiée des *Hoei-keh*." I propose the following translation of this passage: "After having travelled two hundred *li*, you arrive at the northern verge of the desert, and there you find water and grass. Further on you travel more than a hundred *li* through the desert, and then arrive at a city of the *Hui-ho*." It seems to me that this translation is intelligible, and the competent reader will agree that it is a literal one.

Pauthier at first was mistaken as regards the characters 水草 *shui ts'ao*, which may indeed mean "water-plants," but in the above connection they can only be translated by "water and grass (pasture)." He made a second mistake in translating the character 更 by "changer." Finally Pauthier found in Morrison's Dictionary, under the character 涉 the meanings, "to cross over," and "to wade up to the knees." Unhappily he chose the latter meaning, and so makes the discovery that travellers crossing the Mongolian desert, are obliged to wade through water up to the knees.

In order to give examples of the various kinds of mistakes, occurring in Pauthier's translations, I may be allowed finally to quote another passage of his "Voyage de Tchang tchun." Some years ago I investigated the history of plants according to Chinese authors, and it seemed to me conclusively proved, that the Chinese did not know tobacco,—a plant, as is known, of American origin,—before the discovery of America. But I read in the above-mentioned article, pp. 44, 45, that Tchang tchun, who travelled through Mongolia in 1220, found the Mongols smoking tobacco. Pauthier translates: "C'est alors que l'on commença à rencontrer des hommes qui fumaient du *tabac* (*yén*) en ramassant ce qui était tombé sur le sol." I immediately consulted the Chinese text, hoping to find an interesting statement, which would enable me to refute the alleged American origin of tobacco. But I was disappointed. I found of course the character 煙 *yén* (smoke), which at the present time indeed is used to denote "tobacco," but I could not give it this meaning in the phrase 始有人煙聚落 *shi yu jen yen ka lo*, translated by Pauthier as above stated. I understand it: "Here first they met (after having crossed the desert) the smoke of men (*i. e.* hearths, fire-places) and settlements." *Lo* means indeed "fall down," but also "to dwell;"—*ku*="collect;" but *ku lo* means "a village," "a settlement."

I have brought together these examples of mistakes, drawn from Pauthier's translations, in order to prove how easily blunders can creep into translations made in Europe by sinologu whose *ultimum refugium* is Morrison's or some other Chinese dictionary. My object is

not to depreciate the merits of the ingenious commentator of Marco Polo, nor to throw doubt upon his capacities; all the more as I knew him personally as one of the most amiable of men, who devoted his life and fortune to science. But as in scientific investigations, the principal aim is to bring to light the truth, I could not pass over in silence the blemishes of P's. translations from the Chinese. I am of opinion, and I think every conscientious sinologue will agree with me, that *it is impossible to make correct translations from Chinese in Europe*, without the assistance of a good native scholar. I except of course those sinologues, who have studied the language in China, and who have studied it for a long time.

I consider it a duty to declare, that my own knowledge of Chinese is very superficial. But living in China, and having at my disposal erudite Chinese scholars, I find no difficulty in inquiring from the best sources about every dubious question relating to the Chinese language and its meaning. Besides this, I am fortunate in having access to the enlightened views of one of the Nestors among sinologues, who never refuses to communicate the valuable information which he has collected during his long acquaintance with the language and literature of China, and from whom I have experienced no little kindness. This may be an apology for my hardihood in engaging in such difficult investigations, which require more profound knowledge of the Chinese language than is at my command.

Finally I will here venture a few remarks on the pronunciation of Chinese characters, this question being of great importance for the purpose of my investigation. It is as impossible for the Chinese to render the correct pronunciation of words of other languages by their hieroglyphs, as it is to render exactly the pronunciation of Chinese characters by European spelling. One will find in the different manuals for learning the Chinese language, the most detailed directions for pronouncing Chinese characters. In romanizing Chinese sounds, not only all European letters and ciphers are laid under contribution, but besides this, the letters are marked with strokes, crotchets, accents, &c. This is a vain trouble. No Chinese will understand the words pronounced by Europeans according to these rules. The Chinese pronunciation can only be rendered approximatively by European letters, and therefore, it seems to me, the most simple mode of spelling is the best. In transcribing Chinese sounds by our letters, I adopt generally the mode of spelling established by the well-known sinologue Mr. Wade, now British Minister at Peking. Mr. Wade's spelling is adapted to the mandarin language spoken at present in Peking, and for its simplicity has become very common among European residents in China.

The English language having no constant rules for the pronunciation of its letters, and requiring often so many letters for writing a single sound, is not at all suitable for transcribing Chinese characters. It seems Mr. Wade has felt this inconvenience, for in his Peking Syllabary, the Chinese sounds represented by European letters are to be pronounced, not as "in English," but according to the Italian (or German) rule of pronunciation.

I beg the reader, therefore, to pronounce the letters *a, e, i, u, ou*, when occurring in my spelling of Chinese sounds, as they must be pronounced in German. The letters *ch* are to be pronounced as in English, the letter *j* as in French.

But in translating ancient Chinese books, I could not admit Mr. Wade's spelling in its whole extent. At the present day the Chinese at Peking make no difference in pronouncing such letters for instance as 京 and 精. In the Syllabary both are spelt *ching*, but in the ancient pronunciation, the first was *king*, the second *tsing*, and south of Peking this difference is still preserved. Therefore for all sounds belonging to this category, I will preserve the ancient spelling of French and English sinologues, and write *ki* or *tsi* instead of *chi*, *king* or *tsing* instead of *ching*, *kien* or *tsien* instead of *chien*, &c.

In the translations I have made, the Chinese characters are often intended to render Mongol or Persian words or proper names. I find, that in this case, the Russian mode of spelling renders these names more exactly than any other. Instead of the unaspirated sounds *pa pei, pi, ta, tang, cha, chan, chang*, &c. I write therefore *ba, bei, bi, da, dang dja, djan, djang*, when rendering foreign words written in Chinese characters. Nobody will contest, I think, that the characters 都爾本, 巴耳打阿 and 氈的 found in the *Yüan shi*, and intended to represent the names of the Persian cities *Derbend*, *Bardaa*, and *Djand*, render more exactly these names, when I spell *Du-r-ben*, *Ba-r-da-a*, and *Djan-di*, than by using the spelling of other European nations, *Tu-urh-pen*, *Pa-urh-ta-a*, *Chan-ti*, &c.

This may suffice to explain my method of transcribing proper names written in Chinese characters. Persian proper names, quoted from D'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*, I will write always as I find them written by D'Ohsson.

In the following paper I desire to record three narratives of travel, undertaken in the 13th century, from China to western Asia. The first comprises the journey of the Taouist monk *Ch'ang-ch'ün*, made by order of Tchinguiz Khan, from China to Samarcand, also to the encampment of Tchinguiz near the Hindu-kush mountains, and the way back to China. This is the most important of the narratives of travels that

will be treated of in these papers. Ch'ang-ch'un left his native country, the province of Shantung, A. D. 1220, went to the present Peking, rested there some time, and then crossed eastern Mongolia in a north-eastern direction, in order to present himself to the great conqueror's younger brother Utchugen, who had his encampment at that time near the lake Buyür in the north-eastern corner of Mongolia. From thence he went along the river of Kerulun to the west, crossed the mountainous country in which afterwards the celebrated Mongol capital Caracorum was founded, and passed probably near the present Uliassutai. Then we can pursue his route over the Kin shan or Chinese Altaï, through the desert to Bishbalik (the present Urumtsi), and along the Tien shan chain of mountains to the lake Saïram. Thence the diarist of the journey mentions Alimali (the present Ili), the Ch'ui river (only however spoken of on the way back), the river Talas, and the city of Saïram (still existing to the north-east of Tashkend). Further on Ch'ang-ch'un crossed the Yaxartes, arrived at Samarcand, and after having rested there some months, set out to meet Tchinguiz, who was at that time near the Hindu-kush mountains on the frontier of India. He was obliged to make this journey from Samarcand to the Hindu-kush twice, and mentions on this route the "Iron gate" south of Samarcand, the crossing of the Amu-daria, his passing near Balkh, &c. On his homeward way, Ch'ang-ch'un followed the same route by which he came; went at first in the suite of Tchinguiz, who was returning home from his expedition; but afterwards he was permitted to go in advance, reached the country west of Uliassutai, and from there went directly through the Mongolian desert to the present Kuku-khotun and Peking, where he arrived in 1224.

The second narrative of travel is the short record of the adventures of an envoy of the Kin emperor, sent in 1220 to Persia and the Hindu-kush mountains, to meet Tchinghiz Khan.

The third place in this collection will be given to the narrative of *Ch'ang Te*, sent in 1258 by the Mongol emperor Mangou to his brother Houlagou, who was at the head of the expedition against the khalif of Bagdad. Ch'ang Te left Caracorum, and passed by the lake Kizilbash. From Alimali to Samarcand he followed, it seems, the same way as Ch'ang-ch'un. Thence he proceeded to the west, crossed the Amu-daria, and passed through Merv; arrived at the Elburs mountains, and the country where the Mulahi (or Assassins) lived, and finally went to Bagdad, of which city as well as of Egypt and other countries of the west he gives a description. His narrative however is much inferior to the diary of Ch'ang-ch'un's travels. Ch'ang Te returned to Caracorum in 1259.

There existed yet another diary of a journey to western Asia, in

the 13th century. 耶律楚才 *Ye-lü-ch'u-ts'ai*, the celebrated minister of Tch'inghiz Khan, who accompanied the conqueror on his expedition to Persia in 1219-24, has left behind a description of the countries they passed through. This book was named 西域錄 *Si yü lu*, "Accounts of western countries." Archimandrite Palladius informs me, that he has seen this work sometimes quoted by Chinese authors, but has never been able to find the original. Palladius possesses of *Ye-lü-ch'u-ts'ai*'s works, only his collections of poems 湛然居士集 *Chen jen kü shi tsi*. *Chen-jen kü-shi* was the name this minister bore as poet. The copy I saw in Palladius' possession, is a manuscript transcribed from the original in the Imperial Chinese library. It contains also some accounts of western places.



I.

邱 長 春 西 游 記

Kiu ch'ang ch'un si yu ki.

KIU CH'ANG-CHUN'S TRAVELS TO THE WEST.

CH'ANG-CH'UN 長春 (family name 邱 *Kiu*) was a Taoist monk of great repute for wisdom and sanctity. He was born in 1148 in 棲霞 *Si-hia*, a city belonging to the department of *Teng-chow fu* in Shan-tung. In the beginning of the 13th century he was held in great respect at the courts of the *Kin* and the *Sung*.¹ Tchinguiz, after his invasion of northern China, heard of the great sage, and sent him a flattering invitation to come to his court. In the meanwhile, the Mongol chief undertook his expedition to western Asia, and Ch'ang-ch'un was obliged, notwithstanding his advanced age, to abandon his recluse life among the hills of Shan-tung, and expose himself to the dangers of a long journey through central Asia, to Persia and the frontiers of India, where he met the great conqueror. The journey there and back occupied three years 1221-24. The *Si yu ki* was not written by Ch'ang-ch'un himself, but by one of his disciples 李志常 *Li Chi-ch'ang*, who accompanied him and kept a diary of the travels. Another admirer of the sage, 孫錫 *Sun Si* published it and wrote a preface, which is dated 1228. The *Si yu ki* is included in the 道藏集要 *Tao tsang tsi yao*, a great collection of Taoist works. It is also found in the 連筠篔叢書 a collection of reprints, published in 1848 by 楊 *Yang* a learned Chinese in Peking.²

1 The 金 *Kin* or 女直 *Nü-chi* (*Tchourtche* of the Persian authors) possessed at that time the north of China, whilst the dynasty of the 宋 *Sung* reigned south of the Huai river. Both dynasties were overthrown by the successors of Tchinguiz khan.

2 The son of this learned Chinese lives in Peking and is known to all Europeans, under the name of Mandarin Yang, for the predilection he has for European sciences and for European things generally.

The *Si yu ki* has been translated *in extenso* into Russian, by *Archimandrite Palladius*, and published in the 4th volume of the "Record of the Peking Ecclesiastical Mission," 1836. That article may serve as an example, for the translation of historical or geographical works from the Chinese. Palladius gives not only a very correct version, but he elucidates by numerous notes, various passages and expressions, and exhibits in these commentaries, an immense knowledge of Chinese literature in all its branches.

Another translation of the *Si yu ki* was made in 1867, into French, by *M. Pauthier*. But Pauthier translated only a short and very bad extract of the *Si yu ki*, found in the above-mentioned *Hai kuo t'u chi*. Besides this, his translation contains so many mistakes, that the whole article becomes unintelligible.

The translation of Ch'ang-ch'un's travels which I give in the following pages, is not such a complete one as that of Palladius. I have omitted all the numerous poems composed by Ch'ang-ch'un on different occasions, as well as some conversations on Taouist and other matters. In some instances I give only a resumé of the narrative, when of little interest; but all relating to history and geography is faithfully rendered, and accompanied by such remarks as my acquaintance with the subject permits. Of course I invariably consult Palladius' excellent translation; and to enable the reader to distinguish my notes from his commentaries, I always mark the latter with his name.

Sun Si in his preface to the *Si yu ki* says: "Ch'ang-ch'un was a man of a high perfection. At the time I attained the age of manhood (I had heard much of him, but) I conceived that this venerable man must long ago have soared up to heaven, and after his transformation lived in the company of the clouds, in the high spheres of the universe,³ and was sorry at not having seen him. But in the winter of the year 1219,⁴ there was suddenly a rumour that the master,⁵ who lived near the sea (in Shantung), was invited (by Tchinguiz) to set out on a journey. In the spring of the next year (1220), he arrived indeed at 燕京 Yen-king (the present Peking), and stayed in the monastery of *Yü-sü kuan*. Then I had the satisfaction of seeing him personally. When he sat, his position was immovable like a dead body; when he stood upright he resembled a tree; his movements were like the thunder, and he

3 中年以來意此老人固已飛昇變化侶雲將而友鴻濛者久矣

4 I always use, instead of the Chinese cyclic characters, the corresponding Christian date, which will be more convenient for the reader.

5 師 *Shi*, "master." Ch'ang-ch'un is always called so in the *Si yu ki*.

walked like the wind.⁶ From his conversation I learned, that he was a man who had seen and heard much. There was no book which he had not read. From day to day I felt an increasing veneration for him. The number of men attracted by his glory, who solicited the favour of being his disciples, increased every day. When the express (dispatched by Tchinguiz) arrived for the second time, the master set out for the west. At his departure, his disciples asked him when he would return. He said: 'after three years.' This happened in the first month of 1221, and indeed in the first month of 1224 the master returned from the west, after just three years absence as he predicted. The master, in his journey to the west travelled over more than twenty thousand *li*.⁷ He saw places which are not laid down on our maps, and which are not moistened by rain or dew. Although he was received everywhere with great honours, the journey was very painful for him. Nevertheless he was always cheerful, liked conversation and wrote verses. He loved nature in her various aspects. At every place he stopped, he visited all that was remarkable. As regards his views of life and death, he considered them like warmth and cold, but thoughts about them did not perplex his mind. Could he enjoy such perfections if not penetrated by 道 *tao* (the true doctrine)? Written in 1228, the 2d day of the 7th month."

The Chinese text of the *Si yu ki* begins with a short biography of Ch'ang-ch'un, as above related. Then several invitations are referred to, which the master received from the courts of the *Kin* and the *Sung*, but were refused. In the year 1220, the emperor 成吉思 Ch'eng-ki-sze (Tchinguiz) sent his adjutant 劉仲祿 *Liu Chung-lu*,⁸ with an escort of twenty Mongols to Ch'ang-ch'un, who was in Shan-tung. *Liu Chung-lu* transmitted to him an invitation from the emperor and a golden tablet, on which an order was written, to treat the master in the way the emperor himself was wont to be treated. *Chung-lu* reported, that he received the order from the emperor to seek the master in the 5th month of 1219. The emperor was at that time in the 兀里朵 *wu-li-do* (*ordo* in Mongol="imperial residence") of the 乃滿 *Nai-man*.⁹ Ch'ang-

6 All the above-mentioned qualities are considered by the Taoists as marks of a high degree of contemplation and absence of the passions. (Palladius)

7 1 English mile=2.6 里 *li*.

8 *Liu Chung-lu* was a deserter from the army of the *Kin*, who entered the service of Tchinguiz at the time he invaded northern China. Tchinguiz valued him for his skill in making arrows. He accompanied Ch'ang-ch'un on the whole journey, and is sometimes called *Liu kung* in the text. *Kung* was his title of honour. (Palladius)

9 The people of the *Naiman* were living, according to Rashid-eddin, near the sources of the Irtysh river and the Altai mountains. The Chinese authors assign the same country to them. At the time spoken of (1219) the *Naiman* were already subdued, and Tchinguiz remained for a time in the *ordo* or residence of the khan of the *Naiman*, where he prepared for his expedition to the west. Rashid-eddin reports that Tchinguiz passed the whole summer of 1219 near the sources of the Irtysh, in order to equip anew and complete his cavalry corps. He left for the west in autumn. (D'Olsson *l. c.* tom. i, pp. 212, 216)

ch'un agreed to go with Chung-lu, and chose nineteen from among his disciples to accompany him. In the beginning of 1220 they set out for the north, and arrived at 燕 *Yen* (Peking) towards the end of the second month (April), where Ch'ang-ch'un was received with great homage. (I omit the particulars found in the Chinese text about Ch'ang-ch'un's journey from Shan-tung to Peking, and his stay there, as they do not come within the scope of these papers.)

In Yen (Peking) the master was informed, that Tchinguiz had moved to the west, and he felt apprehensive that his advanced age would not permit of his enduring the fatigue of a long journey. He wished to await the time of Tchinguiz's return in order to be presented; and it was resolved to ask the permission of the emperor. There was yet another question, which alarmed Ch'ang-ch'un. Chung-lu by order of Tchinguiz khan, had assembled a number of girls to be brought to the emperor's harem. The master said: "Owing to actresses having been sent from the kingdom of *Tsi* to the kingdom of *Lu*, Confucius left *Lu* (which was his native country). Although I am only a savage of the mountains,¹⁰ how can I travel in the company of girls?" In order to lay before the emperor these questions, Chung-lu dispatched a courier with a report, and the master sent also an address to the emperor.

On the 15th of the 4th month (end of May) 1220, Ch'ang-ch'un with his disciples and Liu kung (see note 8) left Yen (Peking) and travelled to the north. The way led through 居庸 *Kü-yung*.¹¹ One night, at the northern exit (of the pass) we met a gang of robbers; but they bowed and said: "We do not harm the master."

In the 5th month we arrived at 德興 *Te-hing* (now *Pao-an chou*, beyond the inner Great wall, to the north-west of Peking, and south of Suan-hua fu), and passed the summer there in the temple of *Lung-yang kuan*. (I omit the particulars about Ch'ang-ch'un's stay here.)

At the beginning of the winter (1220) 阿里鮮 *A-li-sien* arrived, sent by the Prince 幹辰 *O-ch'en*,¹² and soon after another envoy came.

10 Ch'ang-ch'un, when speaking of himself, always uses this modest expression of 山野 *shan ye*, "savage of the mountains."

11 *Kü-yung* or *Kü-yung kuan* exists still, to the north of Peking, in a defile known to European travellers, who visit the Great wall at this point, by the name of Nankou pass (Nankou is a village at the southern entrance of the pass). Further particulars about this place and its antiquities can be found in Mr. Wylie's article, — *On an ancient Buddhist inscription at K'ue-yung kwan*. (Journal of Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1870.)

12 Here Tchinguiz khan's younger brother is meant. In the *Yüan shi*, where he is often mentioned, his name is written 幹赤斤 *O-ch'i-gin*. Properly his name was 鐵木哥 *T'ie-mu-go*; *Och'igin* was his surname. *Udjigin* in modern Mongol = *little*. Compare *Yüan shi*, chap. 107, Genealogical table. Rashid-eddin calls him *Temougou Udjukin*. (P'Ohsson Hist. des Mong. tom. i, pp. 212, 420. Généalogie de Tchinguiz khan) At the time that Tchinguiz waged war in the west, his brother Udjukin was entrusted with the government of the Mongol empire. He had his territories and residence in the north-eastern corner of Mongolia, near the lake *Buyür* and the river *Olcui*. (P'Ohsson l. c. tom. ii, p. 7)

They invited the master to call upon the prince on his way to the emperor. Ch'ang-ch'un made an affirmative sign with his head. In the same month, the courier sent to Tchinguiz returned, and brought a letter from the emperor to the master; in which the latter was again invited in the most flattering terms. Chung-lu also received a letter, with the imperial order to take the greatest care of the sage. The master then conferring with Chung-lu, said: "Now the winter is beginning, the way through the desert is cold and distant; our companions have not purchased all things required for such a long journey; would it not be better to pass the winter in Lung-yang kuan (see above) and start in spring?" Chung-lu agreed and so they passed the winter there.

On the 8th of the 1st month (February) 1221 we started again. It was a fine day; the friends of the master brought presents, and standing before his horse, shed tears and asked him: "Master, you undertake a distant journey of several tens of thousands of *li*; when shall we have the happiness of again bowing before you?" The master answered: "If you will be strong in the faith, I shall meet you again." As the friends pressed the question, he said evasively: "Our staying and our travelling depend not on our own will." But the friends would not desist, and wished a decisive answer. Then the master said: "I will be back in three years,—in three years." He repeated it twice.

On the 10th of the 1st month (middle of February 1221) we passed the night at 翠屏口 *Ts'ui-ping k'ou*.¹³ The next day we passed the ridge of a mountain called 野狐嶺 *Ye-hu ling*. To the south we saw the 太行嶺 *T'ai-hang ling*¹⁴ and other mountains. The mountain air was delicious. Toward the north there was only cold, sandy deserts and parched grass. There are the limits of the breath of Chinese nature.¹⁵ We saw a field of battle covered with bleached human bones.¹⁶

Travelling further to the north, we passed 撫州 *Fu chow*,¹⁷ and

¹³ According to modern Chinese maps, *Ts'ui-ping k'ou* is a defile about 80 *li* west of *Kalgan* (*Chang-kia k'ou*).

¹⁴ This is the name of the mountains, which surround Peking on the north and west.

¹⁵ 中原之風自此隔絕 *Chung yüan* (中原), "the origin of the middle," is one of the numerous names by which China is designated. The traveller who goes from Peking to Russia, is obliged to pass this mountain (anciently called *Ye-hu ling*) to the north of *Kalgan*. Indeed the change of the climate, the vegetation &c. is very sudden. My friend Dr. Bushell, in his interesting "Notes of a journey outside the Great wall," p. 7, makes just the same remark as the Chinese author made six hundred and fifty years ago, about the sudden change of the climate, when entering Mongolia.

¹⁶ It was the place, where Tchinguiz in 1211 vanquished the army of the *Kin*. In the annals of the *Yüan*, A. D. 1211, this battle at *Ye-hu ling* is recorded.

¹⁷ After leaving the above-mentioned ridge of mountains, anciently called *Ye-hu ling*, the traveller passing from China into Mongolia has before him a vast plain, treeless but covered with luxuriant grass and abounding in water. This prairie extends west and east to a great distance. Its southern limit is the range of mountains on which the Great wall was erected. To the north, a low ridge of hills separates it from the sterile desert of *Gobi*. In this "pays des herbes," many fortified places were built in ancient times, to

on the 15th to the north-east, arrived at a salt lake called 蓋里泊 *Kai-li po*.¹⁸ Here we saw the first settlements,—about twenty houses. To the south was a salt lake,¹⁹ with many sinuosities, which stretched to the north-east. From this (northward), no rivers are met with, water being obtained only by wells dug in the sand. Neither are there any considerable mountains for several thousand *li* further to the north. After five days travelling on horseback, we left the boundary line called 明昌 *Ming-ch'ang*.²⁰

In six or seven days we arrived (after having crossed the prairie), at a great sandy desert (大沙陀 *ta sha-t'o*). In low places 榆樹 *yü shu* (elm trees) of a dwarf size are found. Some of them are of very great circumference.²¹ But from this in a north-eastern direction extending more than ten thousand *li*, no tree is to be seen.

We left the sandy desert on the 1st of the third month (beginning of April) 1221, and arrived at a place called 漁兒灤 *Yü-rh li*,²²

prevent the invasion of the wild hordes of Mongolia into China. One of the most important of these places was *Fu chou*. (Palladius) Ch'ang-ch'un in a poem calls *Fu chou* 燕子城 *Yen-tze ch'eng* or little Yen (little Peking). Ancient *Fu chou* must be identified as A. Palladius first determined from his own local observation, with the ruins called *Kharabalgasun* by the Mongols of the present time. *Kharabalgasun* lies on the road from Peking to Kiakhta, about 30 English miles from Kalgan.

18 This is probably the lake marked on modern Chinese maps 克勒湖 *K'o-le hu*;—*po* and *hu* both mean lake.

19 It is difficult to say, what lake is meant, for Mongolia is very rich in salt lakes; but they change very often as regards their size, or disappear, whilst in other places new lakes arise.

20 *Ming-ch'ang* is an earthen wall in southern Mongolia, raised by the emperor *Madaku* of the *Kin* dynasty, 1190—1208, during the time of his reign called *Ming-ch'ang*, 1190—96; and from this the name of the wall is derived. (Palladius)

21 This statement is correct. I remember, that on my journey from Kiakhta to Peking, some years ago, I was often surprised by the sight of a splendid isolated elm tree in the middle of a sterile desert. It was always *ulmus pumila*. These elm trees owe their existence to water-springs there. 百矮榆大者合抱

22 *Li* means "a lake;" and *yü* means "to fish." I will quote here another Chinese traveller, who went from Peking to Caracorum about the middle of the 18th century, and from the capital (Peking) to *Yü-rh li* by the same way as Ch'ang-ch'un. The narrative of his journey known under the name 張德輝紀 *Chang te hui ki*, has been translated by Palladius into Russian and published in the "Transactions of the Siberian Geogr. Soc." vols. x, xi, pp. 582—91. Chang Te-lui mentions many stations on his road, and gives similar accounts about the country to the *Si yü ki*. Let me follow him from *Fu chou* to the lake *Yü-rh li*. "I passed *Fu chou*, of which only a wall remained. To the north of this place lies Ch'ang chou (according in Palladius' investigations, the ruins called *Tsaganbalgasun* by the Mongols, eight miles N. W. of *Kharabalgasun*, also on the road to Russia). To the east of the city is a salt lake of about a hundred *li* in circumference. It is called *Dog's lake*, from its resemblance to a dog in its shape (the same lake, i.e. "the lake with many sinuosities" is mentioned in the *Si yü ki*). More than a hundred *li* to the north of Ch'ang chou I met an ancient wall, which stretches to a great distance over the mountains and valleys (this is the *Ming-ch'ang*. See note 20). The ruins of a small town are contiguous to it. From this fort I travelled four stations, and then I entered the *sha-t'o* (desert). In this desert through its whole extent, no stones or pieces of earth can be found. All you see is sand. The only trees which can thrive there are elms or willows, and even these are miserable. They grow in clusters. In crossing the desert I had six stations. Then I travelled one station to the N. W. and reached the lake *Yü-rh po* (*po* is the same as *li*; both mean lake). There are properly two lakes separated by a small neck of land, stretching from north to south. They are together about a hundred *li* in circumference. To the south-east of the lake is a palace of a princess." The lake *Yü-rh li* which Ch'ang-ch'un and

where we began to find settlements. The people for the greater part ^{為商人} are engaged in agriculture and fishing. At that time it was 清明 *tsing-ming* (fifteen days after the spring equinox), but there was no trace of spring, and the ice was not yet melted. ^{He made a quotation here}

On the 5th of the 3rd month we started again, and travelled in a north-eastern direction. All around we saw habitations, consisting of black carts and white tents.²³ The people here are nomades, and change their abode according to the prevalence of water and pasture. No tree could be seen, and we met only yellow clouds (of dust) and decayed grass.

Finally after twenty days and more without changing the direction, we reached a sandy river, which flows to the north-west, and discharges itself into the 陸局 *Lu-kü* river.²⁴ We crossed the sandy river, the water coming up to the girths of the horses. The borders of the river were overgrown with willow trees (柳樹 *liu shu*). After travelling three days in a northern direction, we entered a little desert (小沙陀 *siao sha-t'o*).

On the 1st of the 4th month (beginning of May) 1221, we reached the encampment of the prince *O-ch'en* (see note 12).²⁵ At that time the ice was only beginning to melt, and the first green was seen on the ground. There was a wedding being celebrated, and many Mongol chiefs had arrived with mare's milk. We saw several thousands ^馬 of black carts and felt tents standing in long rows. On the seventh the master was presented to the prince, who asked him about the means

Chang Te-hui passed by, is also mentioned in the history of Tchinguiz, who resided here in 1215, after returning from his invasion of China (see *Yüan shi*, *Pen ki*, A. D. 1215). Here was a junction of several post roads. Ch'ang-ch'un instead of turning here to the west, took a north-eastern direction to the residence of Tchinguiz khan's brother. The position of the Yü-rh li can be approximately determined; for Ch'ang-ch'un took about twenty days from that point to reach the river Kerulun, travelling in a north-eastern direction. This lake seems to be the lake 捕魚兒海 *Po-yü-rh hai* 'not to be confounded with the lake Buyür in north-eastern Mongolia' in southern Mongolia, about 43° 50' N. lat. *Po-yü-rh hai* and *Yü-rh li* are both Chinese names, and both mean "fishing lake." The Mongol name of the lake is, according to the *Yi t'ung ch'i*, the great geography of the Chinese empire, 達里泊 *T'a-li po*. I find the same name on modern Chinese maps. The correct Mongol name is *Tar nor* (*po* in Chinese and *nor* in Mongol="lake"). By this name it is mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, chap. 119 "Biography of Te-sie khan." There it is stated, that the lake 答兒騰兒 *T'a-r nao-r*, written also 答兒海子 *T'a-r hai-tze* (*hai-tze*="little sea") was three hundred li to the N. E. of Shang-tu, the summer residence of Coublai khan. In the year 1270 the city of 應昌 *Ying-ch'ang* was founded near this lake. A Russian gentleman, who some years ago passed by the Tar nor informs me, that indeed the lake is abounding in fish.

²³ Large carts covered with felt,—tents on wheels, are meant. (Palladius)

²⁴ In ancient Chinese history, the *Kerulun river* in north-eastern Mongolia is called *Lu-kü*.

In the *Yüan shi* it is generally named 怯綠連 *Kie-lu-lien*, which is a transcription of the Mongol name *Kerulun*.

²⁵ Palladius is of opinion, that the encampment of the prince was on the river *Khalkha*, which discharges itself into the lake *Buyür*.

延壽 to prolong life. As it would have been unbecoming, that the prince should hear the precepts of the master before the emperor, it was, ^{begin} agreed, that on his return Ch'ang-ch'un should call again on the prince. On the 17th the prince ordered that a hundred horses and bullocks with ten carts should be given to expedite the master, and we started again. Our way led in a north-western direction.

On the 22nd of the 4th month we reached the river *Lu-kü* (see note 24), which here forms a lake of several hundreds of *li* in circumference. When the waves rise by the wind, great fish are thrown out and the Mongols catch them easily.²⁶

We then went west along the southern shore of the river (Kerulun). We found abundance of 野薺 *ye hie*²⁷ everywhere.

On the 1st of the 5th month (beginning of June) 1221, at noon, an eclipse of the sun happened, while we were on the southern bank of the river. It was so dark that the stars could be seen, but soon it brightened up again.

In this country it is cold in the morning, but warm in the evening. We saw 黃花 *Huang hua* (yellow flowers) in abundance. The river (Kerulun), flows to the north-east. On both banks are many high willow trees, which the Mongols use for making their tents.

After a journey of sixteen days (up the Kerulun, along its southern bank), we arrived at the place, where the river changes its direction, winding round the hills to the north-west. We could ascertain nothing about its sources.²⁸ Further to the south-west we arrived at the post road, which leads to *Yü-rh li*.²⁹ The Mongols here were very glad to see the master. They brought him millet and said, that they had been waiting for him during a whole year. Ch'ang-ch'un made them a present of jujubes (棗 *tsao*). They had never before seen this fruit.

From this we travelled ten days. At the time of the summer solstice the shadow was 3 feet 6 or 7 inches.³⁰ Here we noticed the peaks of high mountains; the country we traversed to the west was always mountainous or hilly. The population was numerous, all

26 Palladius thinks, that the lake *Buyür* is meant. I venture to observe that the *Buyür* is not in direct connection with the Kerulun (or *Lu-kü*), but communicates by the river *Orshun* with the lake *Kulon* (or *Dalainor*), into which the Kerulun river discharges itself.

27 *Ye hie*, "wild *hie*." The *hie* is a kind of cultivated *allium*. Cf. the Chinese *materia medica* *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, book xxv, ff. 15, 18, and the Chinese Botany *Chi wu ming shi ts'ao*. In the latter, book iii, ff. 35, 37, good drawings are given of both the cultivated and the wild *hie*, and indicate without doubt, that they belong to species of *allium*.

28 The caravan road from Kiakhta to Peking passes near this place, where the Kerulun changes its southern direction to a north-eastern.

29 The road followed from *Yü-rh li* to Caracorum by the above-mentioned traveller Chang Te-hui. See note 22.

30 I understand, the shadow of a stick of known length.

living in black carts and white tents. The people are engaged in breeding cattle and hunting; they dress in furs and skins, and live upon milk and flesh meat. (I omit the other particulars about their dress and customs as related in the Chinese text.) *There are no particulars in the text.*

Further on after four stations (four days journey) to the N. W. we crossed a river, beyond which a plain extended, with luxurious grass and abounding in water. The plain was surrounded by mountains with picturesque valleys.³¹ On the east and on the west we saw the ruins of an ancient city.³² We could recognize the position of the streets. There is a tradition, that this city was built by the 契丹 *K'i-tan*. We found indeed on the soil, a tile with letters of the K'titan. This was probably a city founded by those K'titan warriors, who emigrated, unwilling to submit to the new dynasty.³³

We were told also, that the city of 尋思干 *Sun-sze-kan* (*Samar-cand*), of which I will speak more fully further on) lay more than ten thousand *li* to the south-west, that it was built on the best place in the country of the 回紇 *Hui-ho*,³⁴ and that it was the capital of the K'i-tan dynasty, of which seven emperors reigned there.³⁵

On the 13th of the 6th month (middle of July) 1221, we passed over a mountain 長松嶺 *Ch'ang-sung ling* (mountain of high pines) and stopped on the other side. There are very many 松 *sung* (pines) and 檜 *kuai*.³⁶ They grow so high as to reach the clouds, and so dense that the sunbeams cannot penetrate them. They predominate in the valleys on the northern slope of the hills. On the southern slope few are found.

31 Palladius thinks, that Ch'ang-ch'un crossed the river *Tula*. The traveller from Kiakhta to Peking crosses it now to the South of *Urga*. The Chinese traveller Chang Te-hui arrived at the same river, but did not cross it, following its left bank. The *Tula* river is often mentioned in the *Yüan shi* and generally written 土兀刺 *Tu-wu-la* or 禿刺 *Tula*. Rashid-eddin in his History of the Mongols calls it *Toula*, sometimes *Toura*. (D'Ohsson. *l.c.*) One of the Chinese commentators of Ch'ang-ch'un's travels however is of opinion, that the river in question was the *Orkhon*. Perhaps he may be right; it is difficult to trace Ch'ang-ch'un's route in this part of Mongolia.

32 The Chinese commentator understands, that there were two cities on the borders of the *Orkhon*.

33 This is without doubt an allusion to the 西遼 *Si-liao* or *Karakitai*. As the dynasty of the *Kin* overthrew that of the 契丹 *K'i-tan* or 遼 *Liao*, which reigned in northern China, 916-1125, a relative of the *Liao* emperor, by name 耶律大石 *Ye-lü Ta-shi*, emigrated to the west with a small number of soldiers, and after long wanderings at last founded a powerful dynasty in central Asia, called *Si-liao* by the Chinese, and *Karakitai* by the Mohammedan authors. As regards the K'titan letters, Palladius states that they were formed on the basis of the Chinese characters. Specimens of them are preserved in the 書史會要 *Shu shi hui yao*.

34 By *Hui-ho* the Mohammedans are meant. I shall speak more fully of the *Hui-ho* further on.

35 According to the Persian historiographers, the *Karakitai* were often at war with *Khovaresm*, and may have possessed *Samar-cand* for a time.

36 *Kuai* is a tree, which belongs also to the order of coniferae, but I am not able to give the botanical name, not having seen the tree. The writers of the *T'ang* dynasty identify it with the 檜 *hui* tree; and regarding this tree the ancient dictionary *Rh ya* states, that it has the leaf of the cypress (栢 *po*) and the trunk of the pine.

On the 14th we passed over a mountain, crossed a shallow river, and passed the night in a plain. It was frightfully cold, and the next morning we found a thin coat of ice on the water.

On the 17th, we passed the night on the west side of the mountain; and although it was the hottest season of the year, the water froze at night, and pieces of ice were floating in the river as in the depth of winter. The natives said, that generally in the 5th or 6th month, snow begins to fall in this country, and that happily this year it was not so cold as in other years; therefore the master changed the name of this mountain into 大寒嶺 *Ta-han ling* (the mountain of the great cold). Rain here is always accompanied by hail.

Thence we went more than a hundred *li* to the south-west, through a mountainous country on a winding road. There was a stony river, more than fifty *li* long, the banks of which were about a hundred feet high. The water in the river was clear and cold, and bubbled like sonorous jade (鳴玉). On the steep banks we saw a large kind of onion (大蔥 *ta ts'ung*) three or four feet high. In the valleys splendid pine trees were growing, of more than a hundred feet in height. The mountains stretched to the west in a continuous chain, all covered with large pine trees. We were five or six days travelling in these mountains, the road winding round the peaks. It was magnificent scenery, the slopes of the rocks covered with noble forests, with the river gliding through the depths below. On level places pines and 樺 *hua* (birches) were growing together. Then we ascended a high mountain, which resembled a large rainbow, overlooking an abyss of several thousand feet deep. It was dreadful to look down to the lake in the depth.

On the 28th of the 6th month we stopped to the east of the *wu-li-do* (ordo) of the empress.³⁷ *Chung-lu* (the adjutant) sent an express to announce our arrival, and the empress immediately sent an invitation to the master. We crossed a shallow river, which flows to the north-east, the water of which came only up to the axle of the cart; and then entered the encampment. On the southern bank of the river there were more than a thousand carts and tents.

The Chinese princess and the princess of Hia,³⁸ both sent presents of millet and silver. At this place 80 *kin* of flour cost 50

³⁷ The Chinese commentator explains, that they arrived at the temporary residence of one of the principal wives of Tchinguiz khan. The *Yüan shi* states (chap. 106, *hou-*ei* piao*), that Tchinguiz had four ordo, in every one of which, one of his principal wives resided, with a number of concubines. 高里朵

³⁸ 漢夏公主 *Han hia kung chu*. Here the princesses of the emperor of the *Kin* and of the emperor of the *Hia* (Tangut) are meant. Tchinguiz after having vanquished these sovereigns, took their princesses as concubines. This is reported also in the *Yüan shi*.

Y (call a simply 高使 in the text)

double They were supplied with food
double means? Kaimak? and so on

liang; ³⁹ for the flour is brought from beyond the 陰山 *Yin shan*, ⁴⁰ a distance of more than two thousand *li* on camels, by the western barbarians. During the hot season we had no flies in our tents. 兀里朵 *wu-li-do* means in Chinese 行宮 *hing-kung*. ⁴¹ Carts and tents had all a magnificent appearance, such as was unknown to the ancient 單于 *Shan-yü*. ⁴² On the 9th of the 7th month (beginning of August) 1221, we left the *ordo* and travelled in a south-eastern direction five or six days. Several times we saw snow on the tops of the mountains; and at their base we often met grave mounds. On the top of one of the hills, we found traces of sacrifices offered to the spirits (of the mountains). After two or three days we passed over a mountain, which rises in the form of a pointed peak. The mountain was covered with pines and *kuai* (see note 36). To the west was a lake; we passed through a vast defile to the south; and found a river flowing westward. ⁴³ On the northern side we saw a great variety of trees; and for more than twenty *li* we found on our road abundance of 韭 *kiu* ⁴⁴ and fragrant grass. To the north lay ruins of an ancient city 曷刺肖 *Ho-la-siao*. Proceeding to the south-east, we passed about twenty *li* through a sandy desert, where very little water and grass were met with. There we saw the first Hui-ho, ⁴⁵ who were occupied irrigating their fields

39 One 斤 *kin* = 1½ pound. One 兩 *liang* = from 6 to 7 shillings.

40 The *T'ien shan* or Celestial mountains. See note 57.

41 The diarist of Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels explains the Mongol word *ordo*, which means "residence, palace." 行 *hing* = "to go." 宮 *kung* = "palace." *Hing-kung* = "moveable palace."

42 *Shan-yü* was the title of the khans of the ancient 匈奴 *Hsiung-nu* in Mongolia, before our era and subsequently.

43 It is difficult to trace Ch'ang-ch'ün's way after he left the place where the Kerulun turns to the north-east. Thence he needed more than thirty-five days to arrive at the *ordo* of the empress, which a Chinese commentator of Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels places on the banks of the *Orkhon* (where afterwards the city of *Caracorum* was built). But the *Orkhon* is not so distant from the Kerulun as to require thirty-five days journey. The inhospitable mountains which Ch'ang-ch'ün passed through, must be looked for I think between the lake of *Kizilbash* and the sources of the *Selenga* and its tributary rivers. This part of Mongolia is very little known to Europeans. The first place mentioned on Ch'ang-ch'ün's route, which can be again identified is *Bishbalik*, or the present *Urumtsi*. See note 59.

44 In Peking *allium uginosum* is cultivated under this name.

45 The 回紇 *Hui-ho* or 回鶻 *Hui-hu* formed during the T'ang dynasty, from the 7th to the 9th century, a powerful nation in northern Mongolia. The capital was on the border of the 娑陵 *So-ling* river (*Selenga*). Cf. *T'ang shu*, chap. 357a. It has been incontestably proved by Klaproth, that these Hui-ho and the *Ouigours* of western authors are the same people. Subsequently the Hui-ho had their capital near the place, where afterwards *Caracorum* was built. In the middle of the 9th century, the power of the Hui-ho in Mongolia was broken, and they were dispersed. The *Yüan shi*, or "History of the Mongols" mentions the *Ouigours* under the name of 畏兀兒 *Wei-wu-erh*. The capital of this realm of the Wei-wu-erh was 別失八里 *Bie-shi-ba-li*, or *Bishbalik* of western authors, according to Klaproth's investigations, the present *Urumtsi*. Ch'ang-ch'ün now saw the first *Ouigour*, for he was near the country of the *Ouigours*; but there is some confusion about the terms Hui-ho or Hui-hu, by the Chinese writers of the 13th century, as I shall show further on; they call the Mohammedans also by these names. See note 68.

by means of aqueducts.* After five or six days travelling, we reached a mountain; and having passed on its southern side, rested at a Mongol station (蒙古營 *Meng-ku ying*, properly a Mongol encampment), passing the night in a tent. At daybreak we started again and travelled along the southern mountains (南山 *nan shan*), on which we saw snow. The master wrote a poem (detailing his journey from Fuchau to the mountains mentioned). At the station we were told, that to the north of these snowy mountains is 田鎮海八刺喝孫 *T'ien chen-hai ba-la-ho-sun*.⁴⁶ *Ba-la-ho-sun* means "city" in Chinese.⁴⁷ There are magazines of corn; therefore the city is also called *ts'ang t'ou* (the head of magazines). 倉頭

On the 25th of the 7th month 1221, a number of Chinamen, artisans and workmen, who lived there,⁴⁸ came in procession to see the master. They were all ravished, met him with exclamations of joy, bowed before him and accompanied him with variegated umbrellas and fragrant flowers. There were also two concubines of the Kin emperor Chang-tsung (taken before by Tchinguiz. See note 38) and the mother of a Chinese princess, who met the master with exclamations and tears. The latter said: "For a long time I have heard of your reputation and your virtues, and was always grieved at not having seen you; but now unexpectedly I have met you in this country."

The next day *Chen-hai* arrived from the northern side of the 阿不罕 *A-bu-han* mountain.⁴⁹ Ch'ang-ch'un said to him, that he was much surprised at seeing the people ruled by *Chen-hai* carrying on agriculture, for in the desert this is a rarity. He also asked *Chen-hai*'s opinion about the question of remaining there and waiting the return of the emperor. *Chen-hai* declared, that he lately received orders from Tchinguiz khan to expedite the master, when he arrived in that country, as soon as possible, and that he would be responsible for

46 *T'ien* means "field;" *Chen-hai* is the name of a high officer of Tchinguiz khan, whose biography is found in the *Yüan shi*, chap. 120. There it is said, Tchinguiz established a military settlement (屯田 *t'un tien*) at 阿魯歡 *A-lu-huan* (a country unknown to me, but probably somewhere about the present Uliassutai). A city was built there, and *Chen-hai* was appointed to the government of the place. (This explains the name *t'ien chen hai ba la ha sun*.) There were three hundred families and more from western Asia, employed in weaving gold brocade (西域織金綺紋), and three hundred from 汴京 *Pien king* (the present Kai-feng fu in Ho-nan), making woollen cloth. *Chen-hai* is stated in this biography to have been minister during the reign of Ogotai and Couyouc, Tchinguiz's successors. This must be the *Tchingai* mentioned by Rashid-eddin. (D'Ohsson *Hist. des Mongols*, tom. ii, p. 189, calls him "le Chancelier Tchingai"). *Plano Carpini* speaks also of Tchingai. He conferred with him at the court of Couyouc. According to Rashid-eddin, Tchingai was a Ouigour, and was killed by order of the emperor Mangou (*l. c.* tom. ii, p. 269). but the *Yüan shi* does not speak of his perishing by a violent death.

47 The Chinese author is right. In Mongol a city is still called *balgasun*.

48 They were brought from China and settled there by Tchinguiz. See note 46.

49 We shall see afterwards, that this mountain was about a thousand *li* to the south-east of the Upper Yenisey. See note 157. 山?

Ch'ang-ch'un's staying there for any length of time. He manifested his intention to go with Ch'ang-ch'un; so that the master could not object, and decided to proceed on his journey again. Chen-hai observed further, that in the countries they would have to pass through now, there were precipitous mountains and large marshes, which could not be traversed by carts. He proposed to travel on horseback, and to restrict the number of the suite and the carts. The master agreed and left nine of his disciples behind. A monastery was built for them, in the construction of which everybody assisted; the rich with money, and the workmen with their labour; so that in less than a month the edifice was finished, and named *Si-hia kuan*.⁵⁰ - - - - -

On the 8th of the 8th month (beginning of September) 1221, the master started again, taking with him ten disciples. There were only two carts with the caravan, and more than twenty Mongols from the station accompanied him. Liu kung (the adjutant. See note 8) and Chen-hai had also a hundred riders with them; the way led to the west in the vicinity of high mountains. One of the servants of Chen-hai reported, that these mountains had a bad fame for their goblins, and that once a goblin pulled him by the hair. Chen-hai narrated further, that once it occurred also to the khan of the *Naiman* (see note 9), who passed through this country, to be charmed by a goblin, and that he was obliged to offer a sacrifice to him. The master did not make any remark on these tales.

After having travelled south-westward about three days, we turned to the south-east, passed a great mountain, proceeded through a vast defile, and on the 15th of the 8th month we were at the north-eastern side of the 金山 *Kin shan* mountains.⁵¹ We stopped here for some time and then went south. These mountains are very high and vast, with deep defiles and long slopes. There is no road for carts (notwithstanding Ch'ang-ch'un passed it by carts). The road over the mountains was planned and constructed by the third prince, at the

50 *Si-hia* was the name of Ch'ang-ch'un's native place.

51 By *Kin shan*, or Golden mountains, the Chinese understand the *Altai* mountains of our maps. *Altai* in Mongol and in the language of the Turks also means "gold." This name is often mentioned in Chinese history, and occurs it seems for the first time, in the annals of the 5th century. According to Chinese history, the people of the 突厥 *T'u-kue* (Turks) took their origin in these mountains. The *Kiu shan* is often mentioned in the *Yüan shi* or History of the Mongol dynasty, sometimes by the name of *Kin shan*, sometimes by the name of *Aletai*. But we have always to understand, not the Russian *Altai*, but the branch of it, which descends southward between the lakes of *Kizilbash* and *Ikkearal*, and then seems to stretch in a more eastern direction to the Mongolian desert. The geography of this part of Asia is very little known. The best map existing for these regions is *Wenjukoff's* excellent map of *Western Mongolia*, published in Russian, and reproduced with German spelling, in Petermann's *Geograph. Mittheilungen*, 1872, pt. ix. It is difficult to say, where Ch'ang-ch'un crossed the *Altai*; perhaps at the *Bodogonama pass* marked on W.'s map.

time the army went to the west.⁵² The hundred riders (who formed the escort) were ordered, at difficult ascents to pull our carts by ropes, and to place drags upon the wheels when descending. In the space of about three stations (three days journey) we crossed successively three ridges of mountains, and arrived then at the southern side of the mountains, (they had now crossed the Kin shan) where we stopped near a river, at a place abounding in water and grass. Here tents were pitched, and we were waiting several days for bullocks and horses. The master (profiting from this rest) made three poems (in which he celebrates the scenery of the Kin shan).

After having crossed the river, we proceeded southward and passed over a low mountain with stones of different colours. On the sides of this mountain no tree or grass was found. Within seventy *li* we saw two red-coloured hills; and thirty *li* further, stopped at a fresh-water well in the midst of a salt desert, where we prepared our food with this water. The grass around the well was much trampled down by sheep and horses.

Chung-lu then had a conference with Chen-hai about our journey. He said: "We are come now to the most difficult part of the road; what is your opinion?" Chen-hai replied: "I have known these places well for a long time;" and addressing the master he said: "We have before us the 白骨岡 *po-ku tsien* (the field of white bones). All over is thickly strewn with black stones. We have to travel more than two hundred *li* to reach the northern border of the sandy desert (沙陀 *sha-t'o*) where we shall find plenty of water and grass; then we have to cross the great sandy desert (ta sha-t'o)⁵³ in extent about a hundred *li* (from north to south). This desert extends west and east I cannot tell exactly how many thousand *li*. On the other (southern) side of the desert, is a town of the *Hui-ho* (Ouigours. See note 45). There only shall we find water and grass again."⁵⁴ The master asked:

52 Ogotai, the third son of Tchinguiz, who probably preceded the bulk of the army of Tchinguiz, proceeding on this way to the west, in 1219.

53 *Sha-t'o* (*sha*="sand,"—*t'o*="dangerous") is the name of the great desert of Mongolia. There was also a people in ancient times, who bore the same name, and who lived in the desert between the Altai and the T'ien shan (Celestial mountains). Cf. *T'ang shu*, book 257b. The great Mongolian desert, *Gobi* in Mongol, and termed 戈壁 *Go-bi* in modern Chinese maps, was known by different names in ancient times. Father Hyacinth in his Description of China (in Russian), vol. ii, p. 231, states, that the eastern part of the desert, from the boundary of Manchuria, stretching to the west as far as the Ordos (northern curvature of the Yellow river), was called 朔漠 *so-mo* (northern desert), or 瀚海 *han-hai* (northern sea.), whilst the western part was known by the name of 大磧 *ta-tsi* (great desert). But I will show further on, that the name Han-hai was also applied to the deserts west of Caracorum. We have seen that in Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, the eastern part of the Gobi was also called *sha-t'o*, which seems to be a general name.

Another Chinese name for the Gobi is 沙漠 *sa-mo*. I find this name marked on an ancient Chinese map appended to the *Yüan shi lei pien*. It is still in use up to this time.

54 This large desert is marked on Wenyukoff's map on the north-east of Urumtsi.

"What do you mean by 'field of white bones'?" Chen-hai replied: "That is an old battle field,—a field of death. One time a whole army perished there by exhaustion; no one escaped. A short time ago at the same place, the army of the *Naiman* was destroyed (by Tchinguiz. See note 9). Whoever crosses that place in the day-time and in clear weather (*i. e.* exposed to the sun), will die from fatigue, and his horses also. Only when starting in the evening, and travelling the whole night, is it possible to reach water and grass on the next day by noon."

After a short rest we started in the afternoon. On our road we saw more than a hundred large sand-hills, which seemed to swim like big ships in the midst of waves.⁵⁵ The next day between 8 and 10 o'clock in the morning we reached a town.⁵⁶ We did not get tired travelling at night time, only we were afraid of being charmed by goblins in the darkness. To prevent charms, we rubbed the heads of our horses with blood. When the master saw this operation he smiled and said: "Goblins flee away when they meet a good man; as it is written in the books. It does not suit a Taouist to entertain such thoughts."

At sunset we started again, leaving behind on the road, all our tired-out bullocks, and put six horses to every cart; henceforth we used no more bullocks.

At the time we were still at the northern border of the great desert, we had observed on the southern horizon, something like a silver-hued morning twilight. We asked our companions, but nobody knew what it was. Then the master said: "That must be the 陰山 *Yin shan* mountain chain.⁵⁷ The next day after having crossed the desert, we met some woodcutters and asked them. They confirmed the words of the master. It was the *Yin shan*."

On the 27th of the 8th month (end of September) 1221, we arrived at the northern side of the *Yin shan*. There was a small town (the town of the Hui-ho spoken of by Chen-hai). The Hui-ho came to meet the master, and the chief of the town presented fruits and Persian linen cloth (波斯布). He told us that three hundred *li* distant, on the other side of the *Yin shan*, there was the city of 和州 *Ho-chou*.⁵⁸ It was

55 These were probably the *cyollos kagon* or "sand-hills thrown up by the wind," noticed by *Marignoli* (14th cent.) on the northern verge of the Gobi. See Colonel Yule's *Cathay etc.* vol. ii, p. 339.

56 This cannot be the town of the Hui-ho spoken of by Chen-hai, for it is noticed further on.

57 *Yin shan* means "sombre mountains," also "northern mountains." By this name is to be understood without doubt, the immense chain of mountains in central Asia, which we find marked on our maps as *T'ien shan* or *Celestial mountains*. The Chinese name 天山 *T'ien shan* is also an ancient name, generally used for designating this chain. I do not know why Ch'ang-ch'ün calls it *Yin shan*.

58 Generally this name is written 火州 *Huo chou*, and this city, according to Chinese authors, is sixty *li* eastward from Turfan. In the *Ming shi* (History of the Ming

very hot in that country, which was celebrated also for the abundance of grapes.

The next day we proceeded westward along a river, and passed two small towns. At this time (end of September) the wheat was just beginning to get ripe. The land was artificially irrigated by spring water, for rain is rare there.

Travelling further to the west we reached a large city 龍思馬 *Bie-sze-ma*.⁵⁹ The king (王), the officers, the people, the Buddhist and Taoist priests etc. came long distances out of the city to meet the master. We lodged in a vineyard west of the city. The relatives of the king of the Hui-ho brought wine made from grapes (Chinese wine is made from rice), various fruits etc. The devotion the people felt to the master increased from day to day. In his company were seen Buddhists, Taoists and Confucianists. The master inquired much about the country and its customs. They told us, that at the time of the T'ang dynasty (618—907) this city was the 端府 *tuán fu* of *Pei-t'ing*,⁶⁰ and that up to this time the frontier towns established by the T'ang still exist. They related further, that several hundred *li* to the east is a 府 *fu* (city of a department) called 西涼 *Si-liang*,⁶¹ and three hundred *li* to the west a 縣 *hién* (district town) called 輪臺 *Lun t'ai*.⁶²

The master asked what they reckoned the distance to the place where the emperor then was. All agreed in estimating it at ten thousand *li* and more to the south-west.

On the 2nd of the 9th month we started again to the west, and

dynasty). chap. 329, fol. 119, Huo chou is identified with 哈刺火者 *Ha-la-huo-djo* of the Mongol time, which is the same as *Kharakhodjo* of the Persian historiographers, a city of the Ouigours. The city of *Ha-la-huo-djo* is marked on modern Chinese maps.

59 By *Bie-sze-ma* without doubt *Bishbalik* is meant, for the Hui-ho told Ch'ang-ch'un, that this place was formerly called *Pei-t'ing*. Klaproth in his *Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, tom. ii, pp. 355 seq., has proved from Chinese sources, that *Bishbalik*, *Pei-t'ing* and the present *Urumtsi* are the same. *Pei-t'ing* in Chinese means "northern court." This was the name of the city at the time of the T'ang dynasty. It was one of the capitals of the powerful people of the *T'u-küe* (see note 51), subdued by the Ouigours in the 8th century. In the time of Tchinguiz khan this place was called *Bishbalik* (in the language of the Turks=five cities), and was the capital of the Ouigours, as the Persian authors state. In the *Yüan-shi* the city is also often spoken of, and termed 別失八里 *Bie-shi-ba-li*, sometimes also 五城 *Wu-ch'eng* (five cities), but it seems, that by the latter name the whole country of the Ouigours during the Yüan dynasty is meant.

60 Palladius translates the Chinese characters *tuán-fu* by commissariat.

61 *Si-liang* of that time was the present *Liang-chou fu* in the province of Kan-su. This place, however, was not to the east, but to the south-east of *Bishbalik*, and at a considerable distance. There must be an error, or the author speaks of another *Si-liang* city.

62 *Lun-t'ai* is already mentioned in the *History of the Former Han*, before our era, as a Chinese military colony in the 西域 *Si-yü* (countries to the west of China.), to the west of 焉耆 *Yen-tsi* (the present Kharashar). See *Ts'ien Han shu*, chap. 96. *Si-yü*.

after four days journey, stopped eastward of *Lun-t'ai* (see note 62), where the chief of the 迭層 *Tie-sie*⁶³ came to meet us.

To the south on the *Yin shan* mountains we saw three rugged peaks supporting the heavens. The master dedicated a long poem to them.⁶⁴

After having passed two towns, we arrived on the 9th of the 9th month at a city of the *Hui-ho* called 昌八剌 *Ch'ang-ba-la* (*Ch'ang-balik*).⁶⁵ The ruler (王) there was a 畏兀兒 *Wei-wu-rh*⁶⁶. He was an old friend of Chen-hai, and came with his relatives and priests of the *Hui-ho* to meet us far outside the city. After our arrival in the city, he presented us a dinner on a terrace, and his wife regaled us with wine. They brought also very heavy water-melons (西瓜 *si-kua*) and sweet melons (甘瓜 *kan-kua*).⁶⁷

The master received the visit of a Buddhist priest and spoke with him by means of an interpreter. It must be observed, that the country from this place to the east belonged to China at the time of the T'ang dynasty. West of it there are neither Buddhists nor Taouists. The *Hui-ho* only worship the west.⁶⁸

63 *Tie-sie* is, according to A. Palladius' investigations (see his *Ancient traces of Christianity in China*, in the *Russian Oriental Record*, vol. i, pp. 25—63), the Chinese transcription of the word *tersa*, used by the Persians since the time of the Sassanides, to designate the Christians, and sometimes also the Fire worshippers and Magians. Haithon, the king of Little Armenia calls the Ouigours *tarsi*.

64 They saw the high volcanoes of the T'ien shan, also marked on our maps.

65 *Ch'ang-ba-la* (probably *Ch'ang-balik*. *Balik*—"city." See note 59) was according to the author, seven days journey from Bishbalik, to the west. On an ancient Chinese map of Central Asia and Persia, etc., of about the year 1330, this place is situated to the west of Bie-shi-ba-la, and the name is written 彰八里 *Chang-ba-li*. In the *Yüan shi* this city is repeatedly mentioned. I am not aware, that Persian or other western mediæval authors mention a place of this name. I will here remark, that in commenting upon Ch'ang-ch'un's travels to western Asia, I shall only give short notes and identifications of the places mentioned by him. I intend to publish in another paper, the ancient Chinese map of central and western Asia, and there I will try to bring together all I have been able to find in Chinese books about the mediæval geography of this part of Asia.

66 By *Wei-wu-rh* the Ouigours are meant. This name is met only once in Ch'ang-ch'un's travels. Compare notes 45 and 68.

67 Melons in Chinese are generally termed 甜瓜 *t'ien-kua*. *T'ien* has the same meaning as *kan*, both signifying "sweet."

68 回紇但禮西方 The *Hui-ho* only worship the west. Here by *Hui-ho* the Mohammedans are to be understood; for the Mohammedans, when praying, always turn towards Mecca. I repeat here my remarks about the confusion in the Chinese authors of the 13th century as regards the application of the names 回紇 *Hui-ho* or 回鶻 *Hui-hu* (by both names the Ouigours were designated at the time of the T'ang dynasty). In Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, as we have seen (note 45), first the Ouigours are termed so, but further on he calls the Mohammedans also by the name of *Hui-ho*. The *Yüan shi* generally names the Ouigours of Bishbalik 畏兀兒 *Wei-wu-rh*, and the Mohammedans 回鶻 *Hui-hu*,—in a few cases also 回回 *Hui-hui*. In Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, the name *Wei-wu-rh* is met only once (see note 66). There may be some reason for the fact, that the Chinese in the 13th century called the Mohammedans *Hui-ho* or *Hui-hu*, terms used in former times only to designate the Ouigours. It is known, that the so-called western Ouigours in the 10th and 11th centuries, extended their power far to the west over the Mohammedan

The next day we proceeded further to the west, and went along (the northern slope of) the Yin shan as far as about ten stations.⁶⁹ We crossed also a sandy desert, where the loose sand is collected by the wind into moving hillocks, resembling the waves of the sea (see note 55). No vegetation is visible there; the carts cut deeply into the sand and the horses also sink. To cross this sandy desert took a whole day's journey. This is probably a part of the great desert (which Chen-hai called) *Po-ku tsien* (the field of white bones). It is bounded on the south by the *Yin shan* mountains.

After having left the sandy desert, we went five days, and stopped on the northern side of the Yin shan. The next day early in the morning we proceeded southward on a long slope seventy or eighty miles, and stopped in the evening to rest. The air was cold; we found no water. The next day we started again and travelled south-westward; and at a distance of twenty *li* suddenly got sight of a splendid lake of about two hundred *li* in circumference, enclosed on all sides by snow-topped peaks, which were reflected in the water. The master named it the *Lake of Heaven*. Following the shore, we descended in a southern direction; and on either side saw nothing but perpendicular cliffs and rugged peaks. The mountains were covered to their summits with dense forests, consisting of birches and pines more than a hundred feet high. The river winds through the gorge for about sixty or seventy *li* with a rapid current, sometimes shooting down in cascades. The second prince,⁷⁰ who was with the emperor at the time he went to the west (1219), first made a way through these mountains, cut through the rocks, and built forty-eight bridges with the wood cut on the mountains. The bridges are so wide that two carts can pass together.⁷¹

We passed the night in the defile, and left it the next morning; then entered a large valley which stretched from east to west, well watered, with abundant grass, and here and there some mulberry trees or jujubes.

countries (compare the maps in Klaproth's *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*); and so the Chinese confounded the Ouigours and Mohammedans. In the History of the Ming Dynasty, the Mussulmans are always termed 回回 *Hui-hui* and the Ouigours *Wei-wu-eh*. It seems to me that the name of Hui-hui, in use up to this time, originated from 回紇 *Hui-ho* or 回鶻 *Hui-hu*.

69 I translate the character 程 *ch'eng* always by "station." As the Chinese of the present time understand it, *ch'eng* means "a day's journey." It is only once in Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, that mention is made of the number of *li* they traversed in one day, which was seventy or eighty (25—29 English miles) travelling down-hill.

70 Tchinguiz khan's second son Tobagatai.

71 Palladius remarks, that *Ye-tü-ch'ü-ts'ai*, Tchinguiz's minister, who was with the conqueror in western Asia, in his poems, also speaks of these bridges, and of the splendid mountain lake. A modern Chinese author, who wrote a commentary on Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, identifies this lake with the lake *Sairam*, north of the present Kouldja. He may probably be right. See note 72.

The next station from this was the city of 阿里馬 *A-li-ma*,⁷² which we reached on the 27th of the 9th month. The ruler of 鋪速滿 *P'u-su-man kuo* (the realm of *P'u-su-man*)⁷³ came out of the city together with the Mongol *ta-lu-hua-chi* (governor. See my note about this term in the Introduction) to meet the master. We stopped at a fruit orchard on the west (of the city). The people here call a fruit *a-li-ma*, and as the place is famed for its fruits, the city received the name *A-li-ma*.⁷⁴ There is a kind of cloth, called 禿鹿麻 *tu-lu-ma*. The people say that it is woven from *vegetable* wool. We got seven pieces of it for winter clothes. This hair resembles the down (inclosing the seeds) of our willows. It is very clean, fine and soft, and they use it for making thread, ropes, cloth and wadding.⁷⁵ In cultivating the fields, the people use also artificial irriga-

72 This is, it seems, the city of 阿力麻里 *A-li-ma-li*, mentioned very often in the *Yüan shi*, and also by the Persian authors of the 13th century under the name of *Almalik*, but its true position is not ascertained. Col. Yule in his excellent work, *Cathay and the way thither*, identifies Almalik with the present Kouldja in Ili; apparently only on the authority of the Chinese. But it must not be forgotten, that this identification of the Chinese, was made only at the end of last century, by the *savants* of the emperor Kien-lung; and I need not mention that all identifications of ancient places made by the Chinese in the last or the present century are of no value, being altogether arbitrary. In this case however the Chinese identification may be right; at least it is not in contradiction with other accounts we possess regarding ancient Almalik. Klaproth in his *Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, tom. ii, p. 137, gives a translation of a description of *Ferghanah* by *Sultan Baber*, at the beginning of the 16th century. In this description it is said: "Ferghanah is bounded on the east by Kashgar, on the west by Samarcand, on the south by Badakhshan, and on the north by high mountains." He mentions *Almatig* and *Almatou* as cities of Ferghanah, destroyed before his time. With regard to Almatou, the Russian Fort *Wernoye*, to the north of the lake Issikul, bears up to this time the Chinese name Alimatu. As we shall see further on in the narrative of Ch'ang-ch'ün's journey, Alimali is said to be four days journey to the east from the river Talas, and I was inclined to look for it near the western border of the Issikul lake, which then would answer the picturesque Lake of Heaven of Ch'ang-ch'ün. But I came to the conclusion, that there must be a break in the diary, or a confusion regarding the dates. On Ch'ang-ch'ün's home voyage, *A-li-ma-li* is again mentioned, and placed at about twelve days journey to the east from the river Chui, which position would agree with the assumption, that *A-li-ma-li* was in the valley of the Ili river. If the Chinese assertion is correct, that ancient *A-li-ma-li* was near the place, where Kouldja now stands, the Lake of Heaven, about one or two days journey to the north of *A-li-ma-li*, must be identified with the Lake *Sairam*. In the *Sin kiang tchi kio*, a modern description of Lake Sairam is given in the following terms: "The lake 賽哩木 *Sai-li-mu* is about two hundred *li* north-east of the city of Ili, to the north of the defile leading through the Talki mountains. The lake is about three hundred *li* in circuit, and bounded on all sides by high mountains." I know, that the regions here in question have been repeatedly visited and described by Russian travellers (they belong now to Russia), but unhappily I have no description of the Sairam lake for reference. I possess only a new Russian map of Turkistan and the adjacent countries, on which I find marked a route leading from Urumtsi (Bishbalik) over Kurkarussu, along the northern slope of the T'ien shan to Lake Sairam, which is represented as surrounded by high mountains. From the lake, the road passes south over the Borokhoro mountains to Kouldja. This may have been the way followed by Ch'ang-ch'ün.

73 This is probably the same as Plano Carpini's *Bessermin* (*Notice sur le Voyage de Plan de Carpin*, par D'Avezac, p. 501), a mutilation of the word *Mussulman*. In the ancient Russian annals, the *Bussurman* are often mentioned, the *Mussulmans* being always meant. Col. Yule states (*l. c.* p. 236), that Almalic was the seat of a Turkish principality before the rise of the Mongols.

74 As Palladius informs us, *alina* in fact means "fruit" in the Tartar language.

75 Here probably *cotton* is spoken of, which at that time was little known in China. Com-

tion by means of aqueducts. For drawing water they use a jar, which they bear on their heads. When they saw our Chinese pail for drawing water, they were much delighted, and said: You 桃花石 *Tao-hua-shi* are very able men. They call the Chinese (漢人) = *Tao-hua-shi*.⁷⁶ 4

Journeying further to the west we arrived in four days⁷⁷ at the 荅刺速沒鞏 *T'a-la-su mo-lien*.⁷⁸ The river, which is deep and broad, comes from the east, and cutting across the Yin shan mountains, runs in a north-western direction. To the south of the river again are snow-covered mountains.⁷⁹ On the 1st of the 10th month (end of October) we crossed the river in a boat, and proceeding southward arrived at a great mountain, on the northern side of which was a small town.⁸⁰

pare the interesting investigations on the introduction of Cotton into China, by Mr. W. F. Mayers, Chinese Secretary of H. B. M. Legation.—*Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, 1868, No. 5.

76 Palladius supposes that *t'ao-hua-shi* is designed to render the word *tamgaj*, applied in ancient time by the Mohammedians to China. See Col. Yule's learned investigations regarding this word, *Cathay etc.* p. lii. The *taugas* of Theophylactus is probably the same as *tamgaj*.

77 There must be a break in the Chinese text, or a confusion regarding the dates; for it is impossible, that the travellers could make the distance from Kouldja to the river Talas, about 530 miles in four days. It seems that the narrative of the journey between A-li-ma-li and the river Chui is omitted, all the more as this way is described on the homeward journey of Ch'ang-ch'un, and the distances given there between the Chui (see note 151) and A-li-ma-li agree with the truth.

78 This is the river *Tulas* of the present day, belonging now to Russian Turkistan. *Mu-lien*, as I have stated above, is designed to render the Mongol word *muren*—river.

79. This account of the Talas river is perfectly correct. I will only add, that it discharges itself into the Lake Karakul.

80 I do not believe that, by this small town the city of Talas or Taraz, often mentioned by the Persian historians, is meant. The true position of this city is not ascertained, but probably it was on the river of the same name. Ch'ang-ch'un passed probably from Kouldja (Almalik) by the great road marked on the above-mentioned Russian map, and leading from Kouldja through Kaste Aulieata (on the Talas river) to Sairam (Tchemkend). It seems, that six hundred years before Ch'ang-ch'un travelled, a Buddhist monk 玄奘 *Huan-tsang* followed the same route from the river Chui to the Talas. In his work 西域記 *Si yü ki*, translated by Stan. Julien (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, tom. i, pp. 12-14.), the author states, that he proceeded from China to Samarcand, by a route south of the T'ien shan mountains, and along the southern border of the 清池 *ts'ing-ch'i* (the description he gives of this lake agrees perfectly with the Issikul). Ch'ang-ch'un as we have seen, chose the route north of the T'ien shan and the Lake Issikul to the river Ch'ui. *Huan-tsang* states, that five hundred *li* to the north-west of this lake is the city of the river *Su-ye* (素葉水城 *Su-ye shui ch'eng*), where the merchants of different countries meet. The river *Su-ye* appears to be the same as the Ch'ui. Continuing his route, *Huan-tsang* arrived four hundred *li* to the west, at the well-watered country called 千泉 *Ts'ien-ts'uan* (the thousand springs), which to the south was bordered by snowy mountains, and on the three other sides by plains. Casting his eyes upon the Russian map of Turkistan, the reader will agree, that this country must be looked for north of the high mountain range, stretching from the western corner of the Issikul to the west. A great number of rivers and torrents come down from these mountains, and discharge themselves into the Chui river. In Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, the same snowy mountains are mentioned to the south of his route. About 150 *li* to the west of the *Thousand springs*, *Huan-tsang* came across the large city of 怛羅私 *Tu-lo-sze*. This is without doubt the Talas or Taras of the Persian authors, who speak also of a river of this name. Vivien de St. Martin in his commentary on Stan. Julien's translation of the *Si yü ki* (l. c. tom. ii, pp. 267-71), suggests that the ancient city of Taras was not on the river Taras, but near the Yaxartes, where now the city of Turkistan stands; but his view is not at all plausible. In Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, only a river *Talasze* is spoken of. Rubruquis also notices this river, as a stream that loses itself in swamps and does not enter any sea.

Thence we travelled five days to the west. As the master travelled by imperial order, and as we now approached the encampment of Tchinguiz, Chung-lu went in advance to announce to the emperor the arrival of the sage, while Chen-hai remained with the latter.

Travelling again westward during seven days, we crossed a mountain, and met a Chinese envoy, who was returning to China.⁸¹ The envoy bowed before the tent of the master, who asked him: "When did you leave?" The envoy answered: "I saw Tchinguiz for the last time on the 12th of the 7th month. The emperor is pursuing the 算端汗 *suan-tuan han*⁸² to 印度 *Yin-du* (India)."

Next day there was a great snowfall, and we reached a small town of the Hui-ho (Mohammedans). The snow was one foot deep, but was quickly melted by the sun.

On the 16th of the 10th month we went in a south-western direction, crossed a river on a bridge of planks, and in the evening reached the foot of the southern mountains (南山 *nan shan*). Here were (formerly) the dominions of 大石林牙 *Ta-shi Lin-ya*, who was a descendant of the 遼 *Liao*. As the armies of the *Kin* subdued the *Liao*, *Ta-shi Lin-ya* with several thousand men withdrew to the north-west. After ten years perigrination from one place to another, he finally reached this country.⁸³

81 東夏使 *Tung hia shi*, "an envoy from the Eastern Hia." The latter is another name for China, and especially for northern China, at the time spoken of the empire of the 金 *Kin* dynasty. *Hia* is the name of a renowned Chinese dynasty, B. C. 2205—1766. There was a Tangut dynasty reigning in the present Ordos and Kansu, 982—1227, which took the same dynastic name *Hia*. The empire of this dynasty is generally called *Si Hia* (Western Hia) in Chinese books, whilst *Tung Hia* means the eastern part of northern China. The envoy *Ch'ang-ch'un* met here was an envoy of the *Kin* sent to Tchinguiz.

82 *Suan-tuan han* means "sultan khan,"—Djelaeddin, the sultan of Khovaresm.

83 The Chinese diarist evidently speaks of the dynasty of the *Si-liao* or *Karakitai*. (see note 38). In the *Liao shi* or "History of the *Liao* dynasty," chap. 30, at the end of the annals (*pen ki*), the reader will find a detailed account of the adventures of 耶律大石 *Ye-lü Ta-shi*, called also 林牙 *Lin-ya*, and his conquests, which extended over the whole of eastern and western Turkistan. He was the founder of a powerful dynasty which reigned 1125—1208, and was overthrown by the son of the last khan of the *Naiman*, *Goutch-louc* of the Mohammedan writers, 屈出律 *Kü-ch'u-lü* of the Chinese authors. *Goutch-louc* was attacked by the Mongols in 1218 and slain. The accounts of the Chinese historians about the *Si-liao* agree very well with the accounts given by *Rashid-eddin*, regarding the *Karakitai*. Cf. *D'Olsson*, *l. c.* tom. i, p. 443. *Rashid-eddin* states, that the capital of the *Karakitai* was *Belasagun* (probably the same word as the Mongol *balgasun*, meaning "city"), but its proper position cannot be ascertained. It is only known from the accounts given by *Rashid-eddin*, that it was situated in Turkistan in a well-watered plain, with rich pasturage. According to the 元朝秘史 *Yüan ch'ao mi shi*, a history of Tchinguiz khan, the capital of the *Karakitai* was on the river *Ch'ui* (the river bears the same name up to the present time). Compare *Palladius'* translation of the *Yüan ch'ao mi shi* in the Record of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking, vol. iv, p. 92. The accounts given in *Ch'ang-ch'un's* narrative of travel about the *Si-liao*, seem to refer to the place where *Balgasun* was situated. But the country of the *Si-liao* is placed there west of the *Talas* river (the *Ch'ui* is to the east of it). I shall show further on, that another Chinese traveller of the 13th century, who followed the same route as *Ch'ang-ch'un*, mentions the mountain lake described by *Ch'ang-ch'un*, *Alimali*, then a place with vast ruins of a city of the *Si-liao*, and after this the *Talas* river, west of the

Here the climate is quite different from that of the regions north of the Yin shan (T'ien shan). The country has many plains, and the people are employed in agriculture and breeding of silkworms. They make wine from grapes (all wine in China, as is known, is made from rice or millet). The fruits are about the same as in China; but it does not rain there during the whole summer and autumn; hence the fields are irrigated artificially by canals led off from the rivers, and the corn is brought to maturity. To the north-east are mountains, to the south-west valleys,⁸⁴ which stretch out for ten thousand li.

This kingdom (of Ta-shi Lin-ya. See note 83) existed about a hundred years. As the power of the *Naiman* was broken (by Tchinguiz. See note 9), they fled (i.e. Goutchlouk, the son of T'ai-yang the khan of the Naiman) to the Ta-shi, and after becoming powerful, overthrew that nation. Subsequently the *suan-tuan* (sultan of Khovaresm) conquered the western part of their dominions; then Tchinguiz arrived, the Naiman (Goutchlouk) were totally destroyed, and the *suan-tuan* was also overthrown.

We were informed, that the way still before us presented many difficulties. One of our carts was broken, and we were obliged to leave it behind.

The 18th of the 10th month, we travelled westward along the hills, and after seven or eight days journey, the mountains suddenly turned to the south. We saw a city built of red stones; and there were the traces of an ancient military encampment. To the west we saw great grave mounds, which resembled the 斗星 *tou-sing* (the constellation of Ursa major). Passing over a stone bridge, and travelling five days along the south-western mountains, we arrived at the city of 塞藍 *Sai-lan*.⁸⁵

There is a small tower in Sai-lan. The ruler, a Hui-ho (Mohammedan) came to meet us, and directed us to our lodging. During the first days of the 11th month (1221) much rain fell.

The 4th of the 11th month (end of November) was the new year of the country people. They were walking in parties congratulating each other.

city of the Si-liao. There is probably a mistake in the diary of Ch'ang-ch'un's travels; for it is stated there, that the distance between Alimali and the Talas river, about five hundred and thirty miles, was made in four days, a thing impossible; and on the other hand it is stated, that the caravan of Ch'ang-ch'un took twenty-five days from the river Talas to reach Sairam, which is according to the maps, only a hundred miles distant. Perhaps by some mistake, parts of the diary have been transposed. We shall see in the account of the homeward journey, that they took twenty days from Sairam to the river Ch'ui, and twelve days between the Ch'ui and Alimali. This agrees perfectly with the truth.

84 The Chinese text has 川 *ch'uan*, "valley;" but probably low countries are meant.

85 On the Russian map of Turkistan, *Sairam*, which is probably the Sai-lan of the Chinese, is marked near the city of Tchekmkend, about a hundred miles to the south-west of the Talas river.

On the same day *Chao Kiu-ku* (one of Ch'ang-ch'un's disciples) said to one of his companions: "At the time I resolved, in Sūan-te, to follow the master, I had a presentiment that I was leaving never to return;⁸⁶ and during my journey, my heart has been always sad. But I followed the precepts of our master, who teaches, that thoughts about dying and living ought not to perplex the mind of a man of the true doctrine. His heart ought not to be excited by thoughts about joy and sorrow. Whatever too may happen in life is good. I feel, that now the term of my returning (*i.e.* of my death) is near (歸期將). You, friends, serve faithfully our father." After a short sickness of several days, he died on the 5th of the 11th month.

Thence we proceeded south-westward, and arrived after three days at a city, the ruler of which, likewise a Hui-ho, met and regaled us. The next day we passed another city, and after two days travelling reached the river 霍爾果斯 *Ho-ch'an mu-lien*.⁸⁷ We crossed the river on a floating bridge, and stopped on its western bank. The guardian of the bridge presented to Chen-hai a fish with an enormous mouth and without scales.⁸⁸ The sources of this river are in the south-east, between two snowy mountains; its water is muddy and runs rapidly; the depth being several *chang*.⁸⁹ It flows to the north-west, it is unknown how many thousand *li*; being bounded on the south-west by a desert, without water or grass, extending more than two hundred *li*;⁹⁰ for which reason we travelled there in the night. We went southward to high mountains covered with snow (in winter), and then to the west. These mountains are connected with the southern mountains of *Sie-mi-sze-kan* (Samarcand, *v. i.*).

We then arrived at a city, where we found grass and water; and further on passed another city, the chief of which, a Hui-ho (Mohammedan), came to meet us, and entertained us at a place south of the city, with a dinner and wine. By his orders, boys performed some plays, dancing with swords and climbing on poles. After this we passed two cities more, travelled half a day among mountains, and came out at a

86 覺有長往之兆 literally, "I felt the omen of the long journey."

87 *Ho-ch'an mu-lien*. — *Mu-lien*=*muren*= "river" in Mongolian. *Ho-ch'an* means the river *Khodjand* (Yaxartes, Sihoun, now Sir-daria). I find in D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, p. 791: "*Sihoun*, le fleuve que les anciens ont appelé Yaxartes. Les Arabes l'appellent ordinairement *Nahar Khodjand*, le fleuve de *Khodjand*." Sultan Baber in his description of Ferghanah in the beginning of the 16th century, calls it also the river of *Khodjand*. See Klaproth's *Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, tom. ii, p. 138. The Yaxartes is repeatedly mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, and always termed *Ho-ch'an*, or designated by similar-sounding characters.

88 Probably a *sheat-fish* (*silurus*), for the *silurus* genus is without scales. There are *silurus* of large size, mentioned by modern travellers, in the Sir-daria.

89 One *chang* (丈)=10 Chinese feet.

90 This is a very exact description of the Sir-daria and the regions west of it.

valley which stretched from south to north.⁹¹ Here we passed the night under a splendid mulberry tree (桑樹 *sang-shu*), which could cover with its shade a hundred men.⁹²

Further on we reached another city, and saw on the road a well more than a hundred feet deep, where an old man, a Hui-ho (Mohammedan), had a bullock, which turned the draw-beam and raised water for thirsty people. The emperor Tchinguiz, when passing here, saw this man, and ordered that he should be exempted from taxes and duties.

On the 18th of the 11th month (middle of December) after having crossed a great river, we arrived at the northern side of the great city of 邪迷思干 *Sie-mi-sze-kan*.⁹³ We were met in the suburb (of Samarcand) by the 太師移剌國公 *T'ai-shi yi-la kuo kung*,⁹⁴ the chief officers of the Mongol army, the chiefs of the Hui-ho (Mohammedans), etc. and having pitched a great number of tents we rested there.

Chung-lu (the adjutant) who had left the master and hastened to inform the emperor, was found detained here by some hinderances on the road. He said to the master: "On our road, at a distance of about a thousand *li* is a great river (the Amu-daria). I have been informed that the rebels have destroyed the floating bridge and the boats there. Besides this we are now in the depth of winter. I think it would be better to wait and start in spring." The master agreed, and some time afterwards we entered the city (of Samarcand) by the north-eastern gate.

Samarcand is laid out on the borders of canals. As it never rains in summer and autumn, the people have conducted two rivers to the city,⁹⁵ and distributed the water through all the streets, so that every house can make use of it. Before the dynasty of the *suan-tuan* (sultan of Khovaresm) was overthrown, the city of *Sie-*

91 They crossed probably the mountains to the north of Samarcand, and passed through the defile known by the name of "Gate of Tamerlane."

92 I am not aware, that there are in that country such large mulberry trees. Perhaps the author was mistaken, having seen a plane tree (*platanus orientalis*). Of this latter tree I have seen in Persia, near the city of Demavend, specimens of enormous size and overshadowing a great area.

93 *Sie-mi-sze-kan* is Samarcand, often mentioned in the *Yüan shi* and other Chinese works of the time of the Mongols. Col. Yule in his *Cathay, etc.* p. 192, informs us, that Samarcand was also called *Semiscant* in the middle ages, which name sounds very similar to the Chinese name *Sie-mi-sze-kan*. But Samarcand was also called 尋思干 *Sün-sze-kan*. This name occurs once in Ch'ang-ch'ün's narrative of travel (see note 35), and often in the *Yüan shi*. On the ancient Chinese map of the date 1380, the name is written 措麻耳干 *Sa-ma-rh-kan*. Palladius states, that according to Ye-lü-ch'u-ts'ai (see his poems), Samarcand was called 河中府 *Ho-chung fu* (the city between the rivers) by the K'itan (Si-liao). In one of his poems, Ch'ang-ch'ün calls it 河府 *Ho-fu*.

94 *T'ai-shi* is the highest charge in the empire, the first councillor of the emperor. *Yi-la* is a family name of the K'itan. *Kuo kung* is an honorific title. (Palladius) Probably Tchinguiz khan's minister Ye-lü-ch'u-ts'ai is meant, who was a K'itan. (See his biography, *Yüan shi*, chap. 146.)

95 Hence the name *Ho-chung fu* (see note 93).

mi-sze-kan had a population of more than a hundred thousand families; but after the occupation, only the fourth part remained behind. Most of the fields and gardens belong to the Hui-ho (Mohammedans), but they are not allowed to dispose of them. They are obliged to manage their properties in conjunction with K'itan, Chinese, and men from 河西 *Ho-si* (west of the Yellow river, the present Kansu);⁹⁶ Chinese workmen are living everywhere. In the middle of the city, there is an elevated place, about a hundred feet high, on which the new palace of the sultan was built.⁹⁷ Formerly the T'ai-shi (see note 94) lived here, but as this part of the city had become insecure, owing to numerous robbers, he had withdrawn to the northern side of the river. The master with his disciples then occupied the palace, declaring that Taoists have no fear. The T'ai-shi furnished everything for the master's subsistence, and from day to day his veneration for him increased. We saw there peacocks (孔雀 *kung-ts'io*) and great elephants,⁹⁸ which had come from 印度 *Yin-du* (India) a country several thousand *li* to the south-east.

The master remained for the winter in Sie-mi-sze-kan; and the adjutant with several hundred soldiers proceeded to explore the road in advance. We had often visits of Chinese, who came to bow before the master. There was also an astronomer, whom the master asked about the eclipse, which had happened on the 1st of the 5th month. The astronomer said: "At this place (Samarcand) between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning it was at its greatest, when six-tenths of the sun was eclipsed." The master then remarked, that he observed the same eclipse on the river *Lu-kü*, and just at noon it was total; but that, when he arrived in his journey to the south-west, at the *Kin shan*, the people told him, that at that place the eclipse was at its greatest at 10 o'clock in the morning, and seven-tenths of the sun was eclipsed. Thus the same eclipse was seen at different places in different aspects. *Kung Ying-ta*⁹⁹ in his commentary on the *Ch'un ts'iu* ("Spring and Autumn annals" of Confucius.) says: "When it happens, that the moon stands opposite the sun, we have an eclipse; but it is only observable for those who are straight under the moon. As regards those who are distant from this spot, the aspect of the eclipse changes for them at every thousand *li*. If one take for instance a fan and put it before a light, then a place will be seen entirely covered by the shadow; whereas on the sides, where there is gradually more light, one is by degrees further removed from the overshadowed place."

⁹⁶ These peoples of different nations came probably along with Tchinguiz.

⁹⁷ Palladius observes, that this palace is mentioned in the poems of Ye-lü-ch'u-ts'ai.

⁹⁸ The Persian historians mention also the elephants of Samarcand. (D'Ohsson, *l.c.* tom. i. p. 240)

⁹⁹ Kung Ying-ta was a descendant of Confucius. He lived in the time of the T'ang dynasty. (Palladius)

At the end of the 12th intercalary month (middle of February) 1222, the adjutant returned from his exploration, and said to the master: "The second prince¹⁰⁰ has moved out with his army, and the bridges have been repaired. I had sent to his encampment to inform him, that the master intended to present himself to the emperor. The prince said, that the emperor was then staying on the south-east of the 太雪山 Ta-süe shan;¹⁰¹ but that the road by which the master would be obliged to pass, was covered with deep snow to an extent of about a hundred *li*. Therefore the prince invited the master to come to his encampment, and wait there for the favorable time for starting. The prince offered also to give the master a convoy of Mongol soldiers." After Chung-lu had finished his report, the master replied (declining the offer): "I have heard, that the country south of the river (Amu-daria) is completely destitute of vegetable aliments, and I use only rice, meal and vegetables. Please, express my excuse to the prince."

In the 1st month (end of February) 1222, the 杷欖 *ba-lan* began to flower.¹⁰² The *ba-lan* (fruit) resembles small peaches; the fruit being gathered and eaten in autumn. The taste is like that of the 胡桃 *hu t'ao* (walnut).

On the 2nd of the 2nd month, the time of the equinox, the blossoms of the peach trees dropped. The astronomer *Pang-li-kung* and others invited the master to a walk outside the city, to the west. The adjutant and some officers accompanied us and brought wine with them. The day was fine and the air delicious; the flowers and trees were in their full freshness; everywhere we saw lakes, orchards, terraces, towers and tents. We lay down on the grass, and were all very happy together, talking about matters sublime.

The 15th of the 2nd month, 1222, was a holiday, 太上真元節 *t'ai-shang chen-yuan tsie*.¹⁰³ The officers begged the master again to take a walk with them west of the city. There were gardens and groves succeeding one another uninterruptedly to an extent of more than a hundred *li*. Even Chinese gardens cannot be compared (with those of Samarcand); but the gardens in that country are very quiet, no singing of birds is heard there.

At the beginning of the 3rd month, *A-li-sien*¹⁰⁴ arrived from the

100 Tchinguiz khan's second son Tchagatai.

101 Evidently the *Hindu-kush* is meant.

102 The author means probably the almond tree. The Persian name of almonds is *badam*. There are no almonds in China. What Europeans call almonds in China, are the kernels of the apricot.

103 According to Palladius, in honor of *Lao tze*, the founder of the Tao sect.

104 This is, it seems, the same Alisien, who was sent by Tchinguiz khan's brother Utchekin to Peking, to invite the master on the part of the prince, and who on that occasion accompanied the master on his journey to the west. See note 12.

emperor's encampment with the following decree: "Sainted man, thou hast arrived from the country where the sun rises;¹⁰⁵ thou hast met great difficulties in crossing mountains and valleys; indeed, thou hast taken great pains. I am now about to return, but I wait impatiently for thine explanation to me of the doctrine of the *Tao*. Do not delay meeting me." The adjutant *Chung-lu* received an imperial order: "Invite him to come. If you accomplish my wishes I shall reward you." The emperor also gave an order to *Chen-hai*: "Accompany and protect the master on his way; then you will experience my benevolence." Besides this, the *wan-hü*¹⁰⁶ 播只碣 *Bo-lu-dji*¹⁰⁷ received an order to escort the master through the "Iron gate."

The master inquired of A-li-sien about the way; who reported: "I left this place (Samarcand) on the 13th of the 1st month, and after three days travelling to the south-east passed the *T'ie-men kuan*. (Iron gate. See note 111); five days later I crossed a great river (the Amu-daria). On the 1st of the 2nd month I passed over a high snowy mountain (the Hindu-kush), where the snow was very deep. By pushing in my whip I could only penetrate one half of the bed; even on the trodden path the snow lay five feet deep. Thence proceeding to the south, I arrived at the encampment of the emperor.¹⁰⁸ When I informed the emperor of your arrival he was much rejoiced; he ordered me to rest several days and then return."

The master then set out on the 15th of the 3rd month (beginning of May); leaving behind three of his disciples, he took five or six with him. *Chung-lu* and the others accompanied him. After four days travelling we passed the city of 碣石 *Ko-shi*.¹⁰⁹ There Boludji,¹¹⁰ who had previously received orders, escorted the master through the 鐵門關 *T'ie-men kuan*,¹¹¹ with a hundred Mongol and Mohammedan soldiers. We crossed the mountains in a south-eastern direction, and

105 日出之地

106 萬戶 *wan hu*, "commander of ten thousand."

107 *Bo-lu-dji* was probably the *Bourgoudji* or *Bourdji* mentioned by Rashid-eddin, as one of the four heroes in Tchinguiz khan's army, who commanded his life-guards. (D'Ohsson *l. c.* tom. i, p. 40, tom. ii, pp. 4, 457) These four heroes are also mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, chap. 99, "Life-guards," and have their separate biographies. Bourdji's biography is found in chap. 119.

108 As I will show further on, Tchinguiz was at that time near Kabul, south of the Hindu-kush.

109 This seems to be *Kash*, a city south of Samarcand, and the birth-place of Tamerlan. This city is marked on most of our modern maps of Asia, but not on the new Russian maps of Turkistan, Samarcand, etc. About *Kash*, see D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* p. 238.

110 Boludji was probably stationed here to guard the defile of the Iron gate.

111 In the *Yüan shi lei pien*, chap. I, p. 8, I find a note, drawn from the ancient Chinese annals, that *T'ie-men kuan* was to the west of the city of *Ko-shi*, belonging to the realm of *Sa-na-r-kan*. The *T'ie-men kuan* or "Iron gate" is also repeatedly mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, in the description of Tchinguiz khan's conquests in western Asia, and in other Chinese works. *Hüan-tsang* in his accounts of western countries in the 7th century (*l. c.* tom. i, pp. 22, 23, tom. ii, pp. 283, 285), speaks also of the city of *Kash* and the Iron gate.

found them very high. Masses of rocks were lying scattered about. The escort themselves pulled the carts; and took two days to pass to the other side of the mountains. We proceeded along a river to the south;¹¹² and our soldiers entered the mountains to the north to pursue the robbers. Five days after we arrived at a small river, which was crossed in a boat; the banks being covered with a dense forest. Thence in seven days we reached a large river and crossed it in a boat; the name was 阿母沒輦 *A-mu mu-lien*.¹¹³ Proceeding to the south-east we stopped in the evening near an ancient aqueduct, the banks of which were covered with dense groves of 蘆葦 *lu-wei*.¹¹⁴ The large ones preserve their green leaves during the whole winter. We made sticks from them, and they were so strong that they did not break when we used them for supporting the shafts of the carts during the night.¹¹⁵ On the smaller ones the leaves wither and are renewed in spring. More to the south in the mountains there is a large kind of bamboo with a pith,¹¹⁶ which the soldiers use for spears. We saw also 蜥蜴 *si-yi*,¹¹⁷ three feet in length and of a dark colour. We were now at the 29th of the 3rd month; and six days later, the 5th of the 4th month (about the 22nd of May), we arrived at the encampment of the emperor; who had sent one of his high officers to meet the master. After having been installed in his lodging, the master presented himself to the emperor; who greeted him and said: "You were invited by the other courts (the *Sung* and the *Kin*. See note 1), but you refused. Now you have come to see me having traversed a road of ten thousand *li*, I am much gratified." The master answered: "The

Three hundred *li* to the south-west of *Sa-mo-kien* (Samarcand) he notices 羯霜那 *Kie-shuang-na*, which may be identified with Kash. Two hundred *li* further to the south-west the way leads through mountains; and then three hundred *li* to the south-east the 鐵門 *T'ie-men* (Iron gate) is reached, a narrow defile formed by two parallel mountains, which rise on each side perpendicularly, and which have the colour of iron. There is in the defile a folding gate strengthened with iron, etc. Vivien de St. Martin states (*L. c.* tom. ii, p. 284) that the defile of the Iron gate is often mentioned by oriental writers, under the double name of *Derbend* and *Kohlougha*, both which have the meaning of "Iron gate," and that Clavijo also notices it. *Clavijo* was a Castilian ambassador sent to Tamerlan (1403-5). Compare his *Vita del gran Tamorlan*. Although *Derbend Kohlougha* is marked on most of our maps of Asia, I do not think that since *Clavijo* any European has seen the Iron gate.

112 According to the Russian map, several rivers come down from the range of mountains south of Samarcand, and run southward to the Amu-daria.

113 The *Amu-daria*, often mentioned in the *Yüan shi*. *Mu-lien* is intended for the Mongol word *muren*, meaning "river."

114 In China these two characters are used to denote *arundo phragmites* and other reeds.

115 The Chinese carts have only two wheels, and when not used, two sticks are placed perpendicularly beneath the ends of the shafts, to prevent them touching the ground.

116 The true bamboo, as is known, has no pith; the stem of it is hollow.

117 According to the *Pen ts'ao*, book xliii, f. 12, *si-yi* is a synonym for 石龍子 *shi-lung-tze*, "stone dragon" or "lizard." There are indeed lizards of large size in Persia and Turkestan. *Stellio lehnanni* is mentioned in a Russian work on Turkestan, as a lizard three feet six inches in length. I have myself seen, in the Elburz mountains near the Demavend, lizards of about the same size.

wild man of the mountains (see note 10) came to see the emperor by order of your Majesty; it was the will of Heaven." Tchinguiz invited him to sit down, and ordered a meal to be set before him. After this he asked him: "Sainted man, you have come from a great distance. Have you a medicine of immortality?" The master replied: "There are means for preserving life, but no medicines for immortality." Tchinguiz lauded him for his sincerity and candor. By imperial order two tents were pitched for the master, to the east of the emperor's tents. The emperor gave him the title of 神仙 *shen-sien* (the immortal).

At the beginning of the hot season, the master went with the emperor to the snowy mountains, to pass the summer there.¹¹⁸

The 14th of the 4th month was fixed for explaining the doctrine of the Tao (the true doctrine) to the emperor; but just as the time arrived, news was received, that the Mohammedan rebels in the mountains were about to renew hostilities. The emperor decided himself to attack the enemy. Therefore the day for the master's explanations was postponed until the 1st of the 10th month, which was a felicitous day. The master begged permission to return (to Samarcand); but the emperor said:—"Will you not be too much fatigued to make the journey a second time?" The master replied: "It is only twenty days journey;" but the emperor objected:—"You have nobody to escort you." The master answered: "There is a man Yang A-kou, who received orders to go with me." The emperor then assented, and after three days he gave orders, that Yang A-kou should take a thousand horsemen, and conduct the master back by another way (than that he came).¹¹⁹ Proceeding on this way we crossed a great mountain, in which is the 石門 *Shi-men* (Stone gate); and at a distance, the rocks (on each side) had the appearance of candles. An immense slab lay across these rocks, like a bridge,¹²⁰ and beneath was a rapid torrent. Many of the soldiers' donkeys were drowned in crossing this torrent; and on its borders many dead bodies were seen lying.¹²¹ This defile was taken by the armies a short time before.

118 According to Rashid-eddin (D'Ohsson, *l. c.* tom. i, p. 317), Tchinguiz passed the summer of 1222 in the plain of *Berouan*. In the *Yüan shi*, annals, it is said: "The emperor, in order to avoid the great heat of the summer, moved to the river 八魯蠻 *Ba-lu-man*; but this fact is erroneously reported as occurring in the year 1223. *Berouan* must be looked for in the Hindu-kush. Sultan Baber (beginning of the 16th century) speaks of a place *Perwan*, in the mountains north of Kabul, with a delicious climate. (Comp. *Memoirs of Baber, emperor of Hindustan*, translated by J. Leyden and W. Erskine, 1826, p. 187.)

119 Chen-hai remained with the emperor.

120 Burnes in his journey from India to Bokhara, passed probably by the same route as Ch'ang-ch'un. In describing his way down the northern slope of the Hindu-kush to the Oxus, he gives about the same details as the diarist of Ch'ang-ch'un's travels. (Compare *Burnes*, French edition, tom. iii, p. 188). In one of his poems Ch'ang-ch'un says, that the Stone gate was south of the Amu river.

121 In an ode composed on this occasion, Ch'ang-ch'un commiserates the 長耳 *ch'ang-eh*

On our way we saw men returning from the war, who carried with them a great many corals. Some of our accompanying officers bought about fifty coral-trees, for two *yi* of silver,¹²² the biggest of them more than a foot in length; but journeying on horseback, it was impossible to carry them unbroken.

We travelled in the day-time, and profited also by the fresh nights. In five or six days (it is not said from what place), we arrived at *Sie-mi-sze-kan*, or as this city is called by the *Ta-shi* (Karakitai), 河中府 *Ho-chung fu* (the city between the rivers, or in the middle of rivers).¹²³ The officers came to meet the master and directed him to his former lodging (in the ancient palace. See note 97).

The lodging of the master was situated on the northern side of the river, on a hill of about a hundred feet in height. It was reflected in the bright water of the river. This river has its sources in the snowy mountains (east of Samarcand. See note 123); therefore its water is very cold.

In the 5th month (second half of June and first half of July), in the hot season, the master was accustomed to sit at the northern window and enjoy the breeze; while at night he slept on the terrace of the roof;¹²⁴ and in the sixth month, the hottest time of the year, he bathed in the basin. Thus the master spent his time in the far west.

The arable land in *Ho-chung* (Samarcand) is suitable for all kinds of corn. Only the 蕎麥 *k'iao-mai* (buck-wheat) and 大豆 *ta-tou* (*soya hispida*, "soy bean." See my article on the *Study and Value of Chinese botanical works*, p. 9) are not found there. In the 4th month (May) wheat ripens; when gathered the people pile it up in heaps. In the 6th month the intendant of the *t'ai-shi*¹²⁵ made a present to the master of water-melons; which in this country are very fragrant and sweet, and of enormous size. We have no water-melons like these in China. In the 6th month the second prince¹²⁶ returned. Chung-lu requested the master to give him some of his water-melons for a present to the prince. The country is very rich in fruits and vegetables; but

"long-eared (donkeys)" and complains of the bad smell from the dead bodies, which constrained him to stop his nose in passing. A highly poetical subject for an ode!

122 One *yi*=1 pound. (Palladius.)

123 As regards *Ta-shi*, see note 88. *Ta-shi* was the founder of the dynasty of the *Si-liao* or *Karakitai*; and the Chinese author means by *Ta-shi* the *Karakitai*. *Ho-chung fu* means "the city between the rivers." *Ye-lü-ch'u-t's'at*, Tchinguiz khan's minister, in his memoirs also states that the Kitan (the same as *Karakitai* and *Si-liao*) called Samarcand *Ho-chung fu*. I find in D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* p. 738, an explanation of this name, which is a literal translation of the Arabic *bein naharein*, meaning "between the rivers." This was, according to a Persian geographer, an ancient name for Samarcand; for it is situated between the two rivers *Djihon* and *Siho*n (Oxus and *Yaxartes*).

124 In Persia it is the custom up to this time, to sleep during the hot season on the flat roofs in the open air.

125 *T'ai-shi*, the governor of Samarcand. See my note above.

126 Tchinguiz khan's second son *Tchagatai*. — 天 祚

芋 *yü* (colocasia) and 栗 *li* (chestnuts) are wanting. The 茄 *k'ie* there have the shape of enormous fingers, and are of a purplish colour.¹²⁷

Men and women braid their hair. The caps of the men at a distance resemble hills. They are adorned with embroidery and tassels. All officers wear such caps. The men of the lower classes wrap their heads about with a piece of white 麼斯 *mo-sze*¹²⁸ about six feet long.

(I omit the particulars regarding the dressing of women.)

Most of the vessels they use are made of copper, but there are also found vessels of porcelain as in China. The money they use in commerce is of gold, but has no hole.¹²⁹ On both sides are Mohammedan letters.

The people are very strong and tall. They sometimes bear very heavy burdens on their backs without any cross-beam.¹³⁰ There are men well versed in books and who are exclusively taken up with writing. They are called 大石馬 *Da-shi-ma*.¹³¹ In winter they fast for a whole month;¹³² during which every day at night the superior (長 *ch'ang*) kills a sheep for the meal, when all sit round cross-legged and eat the whole night till morning.¹³³ Besides this they have six fastings in other months.

They have high buildings with rafters on the top, standing out about ten feet, all round; and on these rafters an empty pavilion rises hung with tassels.¹³⁴ Every morning and evening the superior goes up and bows to the west (see note 68). They call this 告天 *kao t'ien* (praying to heaven); for they believe not in Buddhism or Taouism. The superior above sings in a loud tone; and the men and women hearing his voice, meet at this place and pray below. The same custom exists throughout the whole country. Whoever neglects to perform these ceremonies, is executed. The superior is dressed like the others, only his head is wrapped with a piece of white *mo-sze* (muslin, see note 128).

127 *K'ie*=*solanum melongena*, "the egg-plant, aubergine." The egg-plants of western Asia have a more cylindrical form, whilst the Chinese varieties of this plant I have seen, have all roundish fruits.

128 Probably *muslin*, which, as is known, is an Arabic word derived from the name of the city of *Mossul*, where this stuff was first woven.

129 The Chinese copper cash, strung on a string, have a square hole in the middle.

130 The Chinese always bear burdens on a cross-beam.

131 *Danishment* in Persian means "a learned man." Here probably by *ta-shi-man* the *mollahs* or the clergy is understood. A. Palladius states (*Ancient traces of Christianity in China*, I. c. p. 61) that the name 答失蠻 *ta-shi-man*, occurring several times in the *Yüan shi* and in other Chinese works, denotes always the *mollahs* of the Mohammedans.

132 The Persians indeed fast every year during the whole month of Ramazan; but as their months are variable, Ramazan can occur in all seasons of the year.

133 This statement is perfectly correct even for the present time. In Ramazan the Persians eat and smoke only after sunset, when the stars can be seen.

134 The buildings the author describes are without doubt *minarets*, with their prominent gallery on the top, from which the *moëzzin* every day before sunrise, and after sunset, invites the believers to prayers. The *moëzzins* or callers to prayers (literally "the announcers") announce the time of prayer in a singing tone. By 長 *ch'ang* (translated *senior*) the Chinese author means the *mollahs*, or here especially the *moëzzins*.

In the 7th month, as the new moon had just appeared (middle of August, 1222), the master sent *A-li-sien* with a report to the emperor, asking about the time for the explanation of the doctrine of Tao. The answer of the emperor, written on the same report (of Ch'ang-ch'un) was received on the 7th of the 8th month.

On the 8th of the same month we set out for the emperor's encampment. The t'ai-shi accompanied the master twenty or thirty *li* and returned. On the 12th we passed the city of *Ko-shi*.¹³⁵ On the 13th we were joined by a convoy of a thousand men on foot and three hundred on horseback, and entered the high mountains. The route we followed now went round the *T'ie-men kuan* (Iron gate).¹³⁶ We crossed a river with red water, and proceeded through a defile to the south-east; where there were rocks several *li* in height. At the foot of the mountains is a salt spring; the water of which deposits white salt after evaporation. We took a large quantity of it with us. Further to the south-east we ascended a mountain, which forms a water-shed (分水). To the west we saw a high valley, which seemed to be filled up with ice; but it was salt. On the top of the mountain there was a red-coloured salt, with the appearance of stone, which the master tasted himself. In the eastern countries (China) salt is only found in low grounds, but here it is also met with in the mountains. The Hui-ho (Mohammedans) eat cakes with salt. When thirsty they drink water, even in winter.¹³⁷ Poor men sell water in jars.¹³⁸

On the 14th of the 8th month we arrived at the south-western foot of the Iron gate (they had turned round the defile). Here the issue of the defile is bordered by terrible rocks. One on the left had fallen down, and the river to an extent of a *li* was covered by rocks.¹³⁹

On the 15th we arrived at the river (Amu-daria again). It resembles the Huang ho (Yellow river in China) and runs in a north-western direction. Having crossed it in a boat, we stopped on the southern bank. To the west there is a mountain fortress, called 八剌 *T'uan-ba-la*, which is a strong position.^{139a} Here we met *Chen-kun*, the physician of the third prince (Tchinguiz khan's third son Ogotai). We proceeded up the stream (in a boat); but after 30 *li* the water was too shallow; when (we went on shore and) travelling during the

135 Regarding *Ko-shi*, see notes 109 and 111.

136 It seems Ch'ang-ch'un proceeded by a route which was more to the west, than the way he followed on his first journey to Tchinguiz.

137 The Chinese do not like water; they prefer drinking tea.

138 This is still the custom in Persia, that water and ice are sold on the roads to thirsty travellers.

139 Burnes in his narrative of travel, notices similar phenomena in the Hindu-kush, and attributes them to earthquakes.

139a By *T'uan-ba-la*, the author means perhaps *Toun* in Coughistan. *Ba-la* is evidently intended for *balik* or "city."

night we passed 班里 *Ban-li*, a very large city,¹⁴⁰ the inhabitants of which had revolted not long ago and fled. We heard the barking of the dogs in the city. At daybreak, after having taken breakfast we went to the east more than twenty *li* to a river running northward, which could be forded on horseback; and passed the night on the eastern bank of this river.

On the 22d of the 8th month, *Chen-hai*¹⁴¹ came to meet the master, and accompanied him to the emperor's encampment.¹⁴² On his arrival *Chen-hai* asked the master, whether he wished to be introduced immediately to the emperor, or to rest first. The master begged to be presented. It must be said here that the professors of the Tao, when presented to the emperor, were never required to fall upon their knees or to bow their heads to the ground.¹⁴³ On entering the imperial tent, they only made a bow and placed the hands together.¹⁴⁴

The master was then presented to the emperor, who ordered *kumiss*¹⁴⁵ to be set before him; but the master firmly refused to drink it. The emperor asked him how he was supplied with victuals in the city in which he lived (Samarcand); when the master expressed his satisfaction. Next day the emperor sent a man to invite the sage to dine every day with his Majesty. The master replied: "I am a wild man of the mountains; I cultivate the true doctrine (Tao), and therefore I like seclusion." The emperor then permitted him to live as he liked.

On the 27th of the 8th month (beginning of October) the emperor set out on his return to the north (and the master accompanied him). The emperor on the road often sent wine made from grapes, water-melons and other eatables to the master.

On the 1st of the 9th month, 1222, we crossed the river (Amudaria again) on a floating bridge and proceeded to the north.

On the 15th of the same month, at the suggestion of the master, Tchinguiz ordered a tent to be prepared for the explanation of the Taouist doctrine. *Chen-hai* and *Chung-lu* were present at the explanation. The t'ai-shi (councillor), 阿海 *A-hai*¹⁴⁶ translated the words of the

140 *Ban-li* is the city of *Balkh*, according to Rashid-eddin, taken by Tchinguiz in the year 1221. Most of the inhabitants were massacred (D'Olsson, *l. c.* tom. i, p. 272). The *Yüan shi* reports also the taking of *Balkh* by Tchinguiz, and writes the name 班勒紇 *Ban-le-ho*. On the above-mentioned ancient Chinese map of the 14th century, the same name is written 巴里黑 *Ba-li-hei*.

141 The former travelling companion of *Ch'ang-ch'un*. He had remained with the emperor at *Ch'ang-ch'un*'s last visit.

142 Tchinguiz was still, it seems, somewhere in the Hindu-kush.

143 無跪拜

144 折身叉手 A sign of esteem among Chinese monks. (Palladius.)

145 潼酪 *Tung-lo*, a fermented liquor made by the Tartars from mare's milk.

146 *A-hai* is mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, chap 110, as t'ai-shi or councillor.

master into Mongol for the emperor. The emperor was highly edified, and the discourse of the master pleased his heart. On the 19th the night was bright, and the emperor called the master again to continue his explanations, with which he was much satisfied. On the 23rd the master was again invited. The emperor ordered his words to be written down in Chinese as well as Mongol.

After this we followed the emperor in his march to the east, and approaching the great city of *Sie-mi-sze-kan* (Samarcand), encamped twenty *li* to the west of it. On the 1st of the 10th month, the master solicited permission to visit the place where he lived before (in Samarcand), which the emperor granted. The imperial camp was thirty *li* to the east of *Sie-mi-sze-kan*. On the 6th the master appeared again before the emperor, together with the t'ai-shi A-hai (who was the interpreter). Tchinguiz asked the master: "Shall the by-standers withdraw?" to which he replied, that they might remain, and explained to the emperor as follows:—"The wild man of the mountains these many years has devoted himself to the investigation of Tao, and likes to be in solitude. Around the tent of your Majesty, I hear the noise of your soldiers, and I cannot keep my mind quiet; therefore I solicit from your Majesty the permission to travel henceforth alone, in advance or behind. This will be a great favor to the wild man of the mountains." The emperor assented.

At that time (November) rain first began to fall, and the grass became green again. In that country in the middle of the 11th month, rain and snow become more frequent, and moistened the ground. After his arrival in the city (of Samarcand), the master distributed the remainder of his provisions to the hungry people, who were very numerous.

On the 26th of the 11th month (beginning of January, 1223) we set out on our journey. On the 23rd of the 12th month there was a snowfall and such an intense cold, that a great number of our bullocks and horses died on the road. Proceeding to the east, we crossed, three days later the *Ho-ch'an mu-lien* (Sir-daria, see note 37) and reached the encampment of the emperor (who was also on his homeward journey). We were told, that during the past night, the bridge across the river had been broken and carried away.

(The emperor again had discourses with Ch'ang-ch'un, but I omit them as being of no interest.)

On the 1st of the 1st month (beginning of February) 1223, the master took leave. The commander-in-chief, the physician-in-ordinary and the diviner-in-chief came to congratulate the master.

On the 11th we proceeded again to the east. *Sie-mi-sze-kan* was now behind us, at a distance of more than a thousand *li*. On the 21st we

went to the east one station and arrived at a large valley,¹⁴⁷ well watered and rich in grass; where we stayed for some time, in order to restore our tired horses and bullocks. *Sai-lan* (see note 85) is three days journey from this place to the north-east.

On the 7th of the 2nd month (middle of March) 1223, the master presented himself to the emperor and said: "At the time the wild man of the mountains left the sea-shore (Shan-tung), he gave his word to be back again in three years. It is indeed my ardent desire to see my native mountains again in this third year." The emperor replied: "I am myself returning to the east. Will not you go with me?" Then the master said: "I have explained all your Majesty wished to hear; I have nothing more to say. It would be better for me to go in advance." He solicited earnestly to be sent home; but the emperor refused his assent, saying: "Wait a little; in three or five days my sons will arrive; there are still some points in your doctrine not quite clear to my mind. After having understood all, I will not object to your going home."

On the 8th the emperor was hunting in the mountains to the east; and in shooting a boar, he was thrown from his horse. The wounded boar stopped, and the emperor was in danger. (I omit Ch'ang-ch'un's conversation with the emperor, about the necessity of desisting from the pleasure of hunting at his advanced age.¹⁴⁸)

On the 24th of the 2nd month, the master ventured again to solicit his being sent home; but the emperor said: "Wait a little. I must think over the presents to give you on your departure;" so he was again obliged to remain. But on the 7th of the 3rd month he renewed his request, when the emperor made him a present of bullocks and horses. The master refused, saying that post-horses would be sufficient for him; and the emperor granted a decree, with the imperial seal, which released all professors of the doctrine of Tao from taxes. He ordered *A-li-sien* to accompany the master on his journey to the east; appointing him 宣差 *süan-ch'ai* (imperial envoy), *Meng-gu-dai* and *Go-la-ba-hai* being appointed his assistants.

On the 10th of the 3rd month (middle of April) 1223, the master finally took leave of the emperor and we started; all the officers from the 苔刺汗 *ta-la-han*¹⁴⁹ down to the lower ranks, accompanied the

147 川 *Ch'uan*—"a valley, a river." The river here mentioned is probably the *Tchirtchik*, an affluent of the *Sir-daria*. The *Tchirtchik* runs near *Tashkend*.

148 Tchinguiz was at that time 62 years old.

149 By *ta-la-han* the Mongol word *tarkhan* is rendered, which was a title granted to deserving men. The Persian historian Djouveini states (*D'Ohsen*, *l. c. tom. i, p. 44*) the privileges of the *tarkhan*, that they were free from taxes, that they had access at all times to the emperor, and that they could commit eight capital crimes with impunity. In the *Yüan shi* the title *ta-la-han* occurs frequently.

master more than twenty *li* carrying with them wine and rare fruits, and all were moved to tears.

In three days we arrived at *Sai-lan* (see note 85). In the mountains south of the city there are two-headed snakes, two feet long, which are frequently seen by the natives.

On the 15th, the disciples of the master went out of the town to sacrifice at the tomb of the disciple who died there (on the journey hither). We spoke about carrying with us his mortal remains, but the master said: "The body formed temporally of the four elements,¹⁵⁰ decays without any value; but the soul has a real existence, is free and cannot be grasped." Then we spoke no more about that, and the next day we started again.

On the 23rd of the 3rd month we were joined by the *šan-ch'ai* (imperial envoy) *A-gou* (who had received orders) to accompany the master on his journey, along the southern bank of the 吹沒羣 *Ch'ui mu-lien*¹⁵¹ (*Ch'ui muren*, see note 78). Ten days later we were at a distance of more than a hundred *li* to the west of *Alima* (see note 72), and crossed a large river.¹⁵² On the 5th of the 4th month, having arrived at a garden east of the city of *Alima*, *Chang kung*, the architect in chief (大匠) of the second prince¹⁵³ requested *Ch'ang-ch'un* to cross the river for the purpose of inaugurating some temples on the other side; but this excursion was not brought about. (I omit the details.)

In the evening (of the day we started from *Alima*) we arrived at the foot of the 陰山 *Yin shan*, passed the night there, and the next day passed again the forty-eight bridges and proceeded fifty *li* up the torrent to the Heavenly lake.¹⁵⁴

Thence we went in a north-eastern direction, crossed the *Yin shan*

150 四大

151 This river *Ch'ui* bears the same name to the present time on Chinese maps. On our maps the name is generally written *Choo* or *Tchu*. According to the Russian map of Turkestan, which is the only trustworthy one for these regions, it takes its rise in the mountains west of Lake Issikul, flows in a north-western and western direction, and discharges itself finally into a small lake in the desert east of Fort Perowsky. This river is connected with the western corner of the Issikul by an arm, which however often dries up, as I have heard from a local observer. Compare also notes 77, 83, above.

152 This can only be the *Ili* river.

153 The second prince was *Tchinguiz* khan's second son *Tchagatai*. The Persian historians state, that the dominions of *Tchagatai* stretched from the country of the *Ouigours* and *Cayalik*, west as far as the *Djihun* (*Amu-daria*), and that he liked to pass the summer at *Almalig*, near the high mountains *Gueuk* and *Cout*. In winter he used to live at a place called *Mérouzik ila* (*D'Ohsson*, *l. c.* tom. ii, pp. 2, 107). These statements relate to a time posterior to *Tchinguiz*; but *Tchagatai* had his apanages near *Almalig* already in his father's life-time.

154 Regarding this lake, see notes 71, 72. I suppose it to be *Lake Sairam*. Then the *Yin shan* of the Chinese author would be the range of mountains separating *Kouldja* from this lake, the *Borokhoro* mountains of the Russian map. I remind the reader, that *Ch'ang-ch'un* generally calls the vast *T'ien-shan* mountains by the name of *Yin shan* (see note 57). According to the Russian map the *Borokhoro* indeed is a branch of the *T'ien shan*, the principal chain of which stretches in a western direction to the Lake Issikul.

(i. e. a branch of it), and after two days journey, came to the same post-road which we had followed in our journey hither, and which leads south of the Kin shan (see note 51) on a great river.¹⁵⁵

Then, proceeding from south to north, we passed to the eastern side of the *Kin shan*.¹⁵⁶

On the 28th of the 4th month (beginning of June) there was a great snowfall, and the next day all the mountains around were white. We then went in a north-eastern direction along mountains, and in three days reached the front side of the 阿不罕 *A-bu-han* mountain (see note 49). The disciples (left by the master here in a new-built monastery. See note 50) and the others, came a long distance to meet the master, and directed him to the monastery Si-hia kuan (see note 50). Just as the master got out of his cart it began to rain, when all were very glad and congratulated each other, saying: "In this country it very seldom rains in summer; rain and thunder rarely happen except in the mountains to the south and the north; but this summer rain is abundant; for the present fall we are indebted to the sanctity of the master."

The people of this country, in ordinary years irrigate their fields and gardens by means of aqueducts. In the 8th month (September) wheat begins to ripen, and there is then no rain. At the time the corn ripens, it is damaged by mice; these mice are all white. In this country the cold predominates, and the fruits ripen late in the year. In the 5th month (June) we found, on the borders of the river at a depth of about one foot, ice in the ground about a foot thick, and the master sent his servants every day after dinner to bring some. To the south, a high mountain range is to be seen, covered with masses of snow, which never melts even in the hottest season of the year. There are many remarkable things in this country. A little to the west of this place, on the border of a lake, there is a "wind hill" (風冢), the top of which consists of white clay cracked in many places. In the 2nd and 3rd months the wind rises here and howls in the rocks and cavities of the southern mountains. This is only the beginning; when the wind first comes out from the wind hill, numerous whirls are seen like ram's horns; but after some time, these whirls unite to form a hurricane, which raises sand, throws stones, lifts off roofs and uproots trees. In the stream to the south-east there are three or four water-mills; but when the water reaches the plain, it becomes scanty and finally disappears.

¹⁵⁵ 接元歷金山南大河驛路 I am not able to state, what great river is meant. Perhaps the *Ulungur*, which runs into the Kizilbash lake.

¹⁵⁶ We have seen above, that the 金山 *Kin shan* or Chinese Altai, a branch of the Russian Altai mountains has at first a south-eastern direction, and then the chain stretches to the east (see note 51).

In the mountains are coals. To the east there are two springs, which in winter time increase like rivers or lakes; the water is then absorbed by the ground, but suddenly it appears again carrying fish and shrimps along with it. Often the water overflows the houses, but in spring it gradually disappears. To the north-west of this country, at a distance of about a thousand *li* or more, there is a country called 儋儋州 *Kien-kien-chou*,¹⁵⁷ where good iron is found, and where squirrels abound, and wheat is cultivated. A great number of Chinese live there, and carry on the business of manufacturing different kinds of silk and other stuffs. From the monastery (of Si-hia kuan), the Kin shan is visible, where much hail falls. In the 5th and 6th months, there is more than ten feet of snow. The land is interspersed with deserts. In this country the 肉蓯蓉 *jou-ts'ung-jung*¹⁵⁸ grows. The natives (Mongols) call this plant 唆眼 *so-yen*. In their language water is called 兀速 *wu-su*, and grass 愛不速 *ai-bu-su*.¹⁵⁹ In the Kin shan mountains on the northern slopes, there are pines about a hundred feet high.

The assembled people said to the master: "This country here is in a state of deep barbarism (深蕃). From the most remote time the people have never heard of the true doctrine. We had only to do with the charms of mountain goblins and other bad spirits; but ever since the master founded a monastery here, there has been a service established. On the 1st and the 15th of every month the people have assembled and have taken a vow not to kill living creatures. Certainly, that was an effect of the true doctrine (*Tao*); what else could have produced this change? At first the Taoists here had much to complain

157 *Kien-kien-chou* is without doubt the country *Kemkendjoute* mentioned by Rashid-eddin, as a country near the dominions of the Kirghuiz people. *Kemkendjoute* was situated on the *Kem* river or Upper Yenisey. There is still a place in Siberia, called *Kemkentchik* near the confluence of the *Ulukem* and the *Kentchik*, which form the Yenisey. In the *Yüan shi* the same country is mentioned under the name of 謙州 *K'ien-chow*. There it is said, that this country derives its name from the river 謙 *K'ien* (the *Kem* of Rashid), and that it is situated in the south-eastern part of the country of the 吉利吉思 *Ki-li-ki-sze* (Kirghuiz). Compare *Yüan shi* or "History of the Mongol dynasty," chap. 63. There is an article devoted to the Kirghuiz. The river *Kem* is repeatedly mentioned in the *Yüan shi* and written also 健 *Kien*. Our diarist says, that the place, where Ch'aug-ch'un had founded a monastery, south of the A-bu-han mountains was about a thousand *li* distant from *Kien-kien-chou* (the Upper Yenisey). This place then and the mountain A-bu-han must be looked for west of the present Uliassutai. There is a river *Dza-bu-khan*, which name sounds similar to A-bu-han.

158 *Jou-ts'ung-jung* is, according to Tatarinow's *Catalogus medicamentorum sinensium*, the root of a kind of *orobanche*. The drug purchased under this name in a Chinese druggist's shop at Peking presented thin almost circular slices, of about an inch in diameter, showing the section of a bulbous root, which in its appearance has some resemblance with the section of a testicle. There are several species of *orobanche* in northern China. Bunge in *Enumeratio plantarum Chinae borealis* mentions *orobanche caryophyllacea*, L. *o. canescens*, Bge. I collected two other species in the mountains west of Peking. Both have been described as new species, under the name of *o. ombrocharis* and *o. pycnostachya*, by my friend Dr. Hance, British consul at Whampoa (see Linnean Soc.'s Journal, vol. xiii, p. 84). I am not able to state which of these plants yields the Chinese drug.

159 At the present time the Mongols call water=*wusu*, and grass=*ubussu*.

of the malice of bad men, and were not left quiet. There was the physician Lo Sheng, who always tried to annoy the Taouists and to injure them. But once passing by the Taouist temple he was thrown from his horse and broke his leg. Then he was moved to repentance, owned that he was punished for his sins and begged pardon. By degrees the demoniacal influences have also disappeared."

A-li-sien and the others said to the master: "The southern route¹⁶⁰ has much sand and is very stony; little grass and water are found there. Our travelling company is very numerous; the horses will be extremely fatigued, and we have to fear many delays on the road." The master replied: "Then it would be better to start in three parties."

On the 7th of the 5th month 1223, he sent six of his disciples in advance, and started himself with six disciples on the 14th. He was accompanied for twenty *li* by the most respectable people of the place; then they got down from their horses, bowed before the master and shed tears. The master spurred on his horse and departed quickly. On the 18th the remaining five disciples set out.

Proceeding to the east, on the 16th the master crossed a high mountain, which was covered with snow, and it was very cold. The post-horses were changed near the tent.

On the 17th the master did not eat anything; he only drank rice-water from time to time. Proceeding to the south-east we crossed a great sandy plain, where we found grass and trees infested with mosquitos. We passed the night on the eastern bank of the river. Further on the master travelled from time to time in his cart. The disciples asked him from what complaint he suffered; to which he replied: "My malady can not be understood by physicians; it is a purification by the help of the sainted men and the sages.¹⁶¹ I cannot get well suddenly, but you need not be anxious." The disciples were afflicted and did not understand his words. Then one of them had a dream, in which a spirit said to him: "Be not alarmed about the master's sickness. After his arrival in China (漢地), he will get well again." We proceeded by a sandy road for more than three hundred *li*; water and grass were very scarce. We travelled uninterruptedly; even at night our horses did not rest.¹⁶² Finally after two days we emerged from the sand, and were then near the northern frontier of the *Hia*.¹⁶³ Here huts and tents became more frequent, and we had less difficulty in getting horses. The disciples who travelled behind, reached us here.

160 Ch'ang-ch'un leaving the place where he now sojourned, returned to China by the direct route, crossing the great Mongolian desert in a south-eastern direction, which road led him to the present Kukukhoto.

161 余疾非醫可測聖賢琢磨故也

162 They traversed the sandy part of the Gobi.

163 See note 81 about the *Hia* or Tangut Empire.

On the 21st of the 6th month (July) 1223, we stopped at 瀋陽關 *Yü-yang kuan*.¹⁶⁴ The master still continued to abstain from food. Next day we passed the customs barrier and reached fifty *li* to the east 豐州 *Feng-chou*,¹⁶⁵ where the first officers of the place came to meet the master, who began again to eat as he was accustomed to do.

We were then at the end of the summer, and the master was in the habit of sitting at the northern window of the house in which he stayed. At the request of the master of the house he wrote some verses on silk paper.

On the 1st of the 7th month we started again, and arrived after three days at 下水 *Hia-shui*.¹⁶⁶ The next day we left, and on the 9th arrived at 雲中 *Yün-chung*,¹⁶⁷ where the master spent more than twenty days. The military commandant (元帥) of 宣德 *Sün-te*¹⁶⁸ sent an express to Yün-chung, with a letter to the master and an offer of cart and horses.

At the beginning of the 8th month, the master started, and proceeding eastward we reached 楊河 *Yang-ho*, passed 白登 *Po-teng*, 天城 *T'ien-ch'eng*, and 懷安 *Huai-an*, and crossed the river 渾河 *Hun ho*.¹⁶⁹ The commandant met the master far out of the city (of Sün-te) and lodged him at the temple *Chao-yüan kuan*. The Taoists received the master with great distinction, and told him that in the last winter some of them saw *Ch'ao-kung* (the disciple who died at Sairam) entering the monastery and leading a horse by the bridle. All came to meet him, but he disappeared suddenly. He was also seen at other places.

The princes, dignitaries, commanders and other officers in northern China,¹⁷⁰ addressed letters to the master inviting him to visit them. These invitations succeeded each other like the spokes of a rolling wheel; but the master answered, that he was sorry he could not divide himself into several bodies, to satisfy the wishes of all.

According to a vow taken at the time Ch'ang-ch'un passed the battle-field of *Ye-hu-lin* (see note 16), covered with white human bones,

164 A defile leading through the *Yin shan* mountain, north of Kukukhoto.

165 According to the great geography of the Chinese empire, ancient Feng-chou was near the present Kukukhoto or 歸化城 *Kui-hua ch'ing*.

166 Palladius states that the military place *Hia-shui li*, named after a lake (*li*) at the frontier between China and Mongolia is often mentioned in Chinese history.

167 At present *Ta-tung fu* in Shansi.

168 The present *Sün-hua fu*, a large city on the road from Peking to Kalgan and Russia.

169 All the places mentioned can be found on modern Chinese maps between *Ta-tung fu* and *Sün-hua fu*. By *Hun ho* the river *Yang ho* of the Chinese maps is meant. It passes *Sün-hua fu*, and joins further to the south-east the *San-kan ho*, when the united river takes a south-eastern direction, and passes about ten miles west of Peking. This river bears to the present time the name *Hun ho*.

170 河朔 *Ho-so*, i.e. north of the Yellow river.

there was on the 15th a service performed by Ch'ang-ch'un's disciples at the temple of Lung-yang kuan in Te-sing (now Pao-an chou), to help the destitute souls to pass over.

After the service, an officer from the emperor arrived to inquire about the master's journey, health, etc. The master spent the winter at Lung-yang kuan.

The governor of 燕京 *Yen king* (the present Peking), and other officers from that city sent an express with a letter to the master, in order to invite him to stay in the temple *Ta-t'ien-chang kuan*, to which he assented. He started, passed *Kü yung* (see note 11), and proceeded south. At 南口 *Nan-kou*,¹⁷¹ in the temple of *Shen-yu kuan*, the Taouists of Peking met him. The next day venerable old men, men and women assembled from all sides and accompanied the master with fragrant flowers, when he entered Yen king, and the people bowing before him obstructed the road.

At the time the master started for the west, the friends wished to know when he would return, to which he replied: "In three years,—in three years;" and indeed his prophecy was realized, for it was on the 7th of the 1st month 1224, he arrived at the temple of Ch'ang-t'ien kuan.¹⁷²

Having brought back the traveller from a long and painful journey to his native soil, I break off the narrative of his adventures. The *Si yu ki* continues Ch'ang-ch'un's biography until his death; but the further events of his life are of little interest, and have nothing to do with my programme. I will only briefly state, that the master remained at Peking, where he died on the 9th of the 7th month 1227. Next year, his disciples with the help of a great number of other Taouists arrived from different parts of China, built for the mortal remains of the sage a monastery, the buildings of which were finished in forty days. The 9th of the 7th month was fixed for the ceremony of transferring and burying the body. During the 6th month heavy rain fell uninterruptedly.¹⁷³ The people were afraid, that the ceremony would be hindered; but on the 1st of the 7th month the heavens suddenly cleared up, and all were much gratified. When the coffin was opened, the appearance of the master was the same as he showed in his life. During three days people came from far and near, princes, officers and others, more than ten thousand. All were astonished at

171 *Nan-kou* is still a little town at the southern issue of the defile of Kuan-kou, about 30 miles N. W. of Peking.

172 Ch'ang-ch'un started three years before from the temple of Lung-yang on the 8th of the 1st month 1221.

173 It seems the climate of Peking has not changed since that time; for now during the 6th Chinese month (second half of July and first half of August) the rain-fall at Peking is still so abundant, that all communication becomes interrupted, and a great part of the capital is inundated.

this wonder and laid their hands on their foreheads. The funeral ceremonies continued three days.

On the 8th of the 7th month at eight o'clock in the morning, at first black cranes (玄鶴 *huan hao*) flew past from the south-west; then followed white cranes (白鶴 *po hao*).¹⁷⁴ The people looked at them with astonishment. On the 9th at midnight was the last funeral service, after which the mortal remains¹⁷⁵ of the master were buried in the monastery. This monastery received the name 白雲觀 *Po-yün kuan* (the monastery of the white clouds).¹⁷⁶

174 According to A. Palladius, the Taoists consider cranes and storks as the birds of sainted and immortal men. On cranes the Taoists who have attained perfection are said to soar up to heaven. By white crane the beautiful *grus montignesia* is meant, a bird of great popularity among the Chinese. It is commonly called 仙鶴 *sien-hao* (the crane of immortality), and often represented in Chinese drawings and embroidered upon the dresses of Chinese officers (a Manchoo custom). This crane is of large size, and of a splendid white colour. Only the neck and some feathers of the wings are black. The top of the head is red. The black crane is probably the *grus monachus*, but it is rather of a brownish colour. Marco Polo speaks also of a crane in Mongolia (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 260), which is as black as a crow, and mentions another, the biggest of all, which is all white. This is doubtless *grus montignesia*. The stork is called 鶴 *kuan* in Chinese. There are white and black storks.

175 The Chinese text has 仙蛻 *sien jui*, literally the snake's skin of the immortal (part of man).

176 The temple or monastery of Po-yün kuan exists still west of Peking, one *li* west of the *S'p'ien men* gate. At the time it was built, it was inside the wall of Peking, but as under the Ming dynasty the capital was lessened, Po-yün kuan remained outside. Archimandrite Palladius, who has visited the monastery, states, that it is still the first Taoist monastery in China. In the principal temple, where the remains of Ch'ang-ch'ün repose, there is a statue (*idol*) representing the sage. In another temple we find his statue again, and those of six of his disciples. A third temple contains the statues of his eighteen companions of travel. On the 19th of the 1st month, the birth-day of Ch'ang-ch'ün is celebrated every year in the Po-yün kuan, and the people of Peking repair in great numbers to this place.

II.

西使記

Si she ki.

RECORD OF AN EMBASSY TO THE REGIONS IN THE WEST.

PRELIMINARY NOTICES.

THE traveller, whom we are now about to follow in his journey from Mongolia to western Asia, was an envoy dispatched by the Mongol emperor Mangou khan in the year 1259 (In my introductory notices, I have erroneously given the year 1258 as the date of his departure), to his brother Houlagou, who at that time had just succeeded in overthrowing the calif of Bagdad. The name of this envoy, a Chinese, was 常德 *Ch'ang Te*. After his return, the report of his journey was taken down by a certain 劉郁 *Liu Yu*, who termed his pamphlet *Si shi ki*. This narrative was then incorporated in the 玉堂嘉話 *Yu t'ang kea hwa*,* a repository issued by 王惲 *Wang Yun*, an author of the Yüan dynasty. It was also published in a separate volume.

These details regarding the publication of the *Si shi ki* are taken from the 四庫全書 *Sze k'u ts'ün shu*, the great catalogue of the imperial library.

Liu Yu's pamphlet, from a geographical point of view, is much inferior in value to the narrative of Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, which in this department of literature, I find, occupies a much higher place than many reports of our European mediæval travellers. The style of the *Si shi ki* presents the inconveniences we often have to complain of in Chinese books,—vagueness in the ideas, often ambiguity in the expressions, and omission of the principal matters in the report, whilst some absurd details are minutely recorded. The indications of the geographical

* See note B.

position of places are far from being precise, and the proper names are often corrupted. Besides this, many typographical blunders have crept into the different editions, which make it difficult for the reader to understand, who has access only to one edition. But notwithstanding these blemishes, I am far from declaring the *Si shi ki* unserviceable for the elucidation of the ancient geography of Asia. We have not to look for accuracy in the ancient Chinese views of regions so far from China, and our science must accept thankfully all literary documents which come down to us from such a remote time.

The *Si shi ki* exists as a separate pamphlet, but is also found in several of the bulky *ts'ung shu* or collections of reprints; for instance in the 學海類編 *Hio hai lei pien*, and in the 守山閣叢書 *Shou shan ko ts'ung shu* (under the head of 玉堂嘉話). I must however warn the reader who consults this latter edition, that all proper names appearing in it have been intentionally corrupted, and often bear little resemblance to the respective names in the original.¹ But the rest of the text seems to be complete, and presents only a few mistakes.

The Chinese text of the *Si shi ki*, with some omissions and mistakes, is also found in the 元史類編 *Yüan shi lei pien* (chap. 42), an abridged history of the Mongol dynasty, published in 1693, and in the above-mentioned geographical essay *Hai kuo t'u chi*.* I have compared these four latter editions of the *Si shi ki*, and as the erroneously-used and omitted characters are happily not the same in the different texts, I have been enabled to reconstruct the complete original of the article for my translation.

The *Si shi ki* has been twice translated into French, by two well-

1. This corrupting of proper names originated from a puerile fancy of the emperor Kienlung in the second half of the last century, who gave orders to reprint a great many ancient books, in which all original proper names were changed. A reformatory committee of the most erudite Chinese, Manchu and other *savants* was appointed to effect this alteration. The leading idea of these *savants* was to change the ancient Chinese spelling of foreign proper names, into names of new invention, which should have a pleasant meaning in Manchu, Mongol or other languages. In this way the calif of Bagdad, whose title is quite correctly spelt in the ancient edition of the *Yüan shi* *Ha-li-fa*, became in the new edition of the work *Fa-r-ha*. An explanatory dictionary for the new *Yüan shi* informs us, that *fa-r-ha* in Manchu means "a village." The ancient country *Cayalic* (somewhere near the present Ili) of the Mohammedan writers, is termed in the original edition of the *Yüan shi* *Hai-ya-li*; but in the new edition the name has been changed into *Ha-la-r*, and this name is stated to mean "a kind of garlic." It is indeed astonishing that this learned Chinese committee was even unable to recognize the ancient proper names, which up to this time remain about the same. The river *Kerulun* in Mongolia, and not at all far from Peking, was first spelt in the *Yüan shi* *Kie-lu-lien*; but the committee found this name dissonant, and invented the more euphonic name *Gi-lu-r* for this river. None of the ancient proper names in the *Yüan shi* found mercy with the severe critics. This may serve as an example of what the Chinese of the last century mean by scientific research. I need not mention, that in quoting proper names from the *Yüan shi*, I always refer to the ancient uncorrupted edition. My edition was published in 1603 under the Ming dynasty.

* See note C.

known sinologues. A. Rémusat translated from the *Yüan shi lei pien* (or 續宏簡錄 *Su hung kien lu*. Rémusat quotes it under the latter name. Compare his *Nouveau Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. i, pp. 171 seq). Pauthier translated the text found in the *Hai kuo t'u chi*, and published his translation in the Introduction to his *Marco Polo*. But as I have already stated, both texts are incomplete, and the French sinologues have misunderstood the greater part of the article. Therefore I venture to present a new and complete translation of this curious and ancient literary document, and will try to render this translation as correct as the sources of information I have access to permit, and give the fullest explanations possible.

In comparing Rémusat's translation with the Chinese text from which he translated, I find that this translator proceeded very cautiously. To avoid errors, he omitted the rendering of the characters not understood by him. But by this means he also fell into errors. It is not required for a correct translation from the Chinese to be literal; it is often impossible to give an intelligible literal translation; but it is indispensable that the translator should take into consideration every character in the text, and its connection with other characters. The Chinese are so concise, that one never finds a useless character employed, and the omission of one hieroglyph changes the sense of the whole passage, and sometimes of the whole article. Besides this, Rémusat's translation has the great inconvenience of being almost destitute of explanatory notes.

With regard to Pauthier's version it may be said, that he translates boldly every character of his text, according to the dictionaries at his disposal. But I am sorry to say, by this mode of translation, a great part of his article becomes completely unintelligible. His notes are borrowed for the greater part from the author of the *Hai kuo t'u chi*, and the strange geographical views of this Chinese geographer, often mislead Pauthier in a deplorable manner.

In the notes accompanying my translation of the *Si shi ki*, the reader will distinguish two objects of investigation pursued. One part of the notes is devoted to geographical researches and identifications, as well as to some remarks on natural history, when called for by the statements of the Chinese author. Another part, intended only for sinologues, is of a purely philological character. As my translation often diverges from those of the French sinologues, I found it necessary to lay before competent readers the Chinese text, together with the French versions. I shall however only notice important divergences in the interpretation of Chinese phrases, and I cannot of course hold the French *savants* responsible for omissions and erroneous characters appearing in their texts.

The subject of the greater part of the *Si shi ki*, is the expedition of Houlagou to western Asia, and accounts of the countries through which his armies successively passed. Pauthier fell into an error in assuming, that *Liu Yu*, who took down the report of the envoy *Ch'ang Te*, accompanied the expedition. He calls him, "commissaire chinois de l'expédition." *Liu Yu* never was in western Asia, and even *Ch'ang Te* in his report, speaks not as an eye-witness of the events he records regarding the conquests of Houlagou. We shall see, that he reached the army only after the fall of Bagdad. Pauthier did not remark the above-translated note from the *Sze k'u ts'üan shu*, which was prefixed to the text he used, and states clearly that *Ch'ang Te* was sent to the west after Bagdad had been taken.

There is yet another Chinese account of the expedition of Houlagou to western Asia, preserved in the biography of the general 郭侃 *K'ao-k'an*, *Yüan shi*, chap. 149. This distinguished general was with Houlagou in Persia, Bagdad, etc., and in his biography the events of the expedition, and the different countries and places through which the Mongol armies passed, are mentioned in the same order as in the *Si shi ki*. But both reports seem to have been written independently, and there is also a difference in the spelling of the proper names. I shall compare them at the proper places, in order to corroborate *Ch'ang Te*'s report. Pauthier seems to be right in suggesting, that this *Kouo Khan* of the Chinese authors, must be the general *Koukâ Ilka* mentioned by Rashid-eddin as commanding, together with Boucatimour the right flank of Houlagou's army. (D'Ohsson, tom. iii, p. 193.)

Having thus furnished evidence, that the narrative of the journey reported in the *Si shi ki*, is not a diary of the march of Houlagou's army, as the French sinologues assume, let me show, what is recorded in the Persian and Chinese annals about this prince, his expedition, and the route followed by his troops through central Asia. The Chinese statements on this subject found in the *Yüan shi* are very few; but Rashid-eddin the able Persian historiographer furnishes detailed accounts of the conquest of western Asia by the Mongol armies. I may be allowed to give here, before commencing the translation of the *Si shi ki*, an abstract of the chief points of Houlagou's campaign, as recorded by Rashid. This will enable the reader to form a judgment of the authenticity of the statements of the Chinese traveller.

Houlagou's expedition to Western Asia, according to Rashid-eddin.
(D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. iii.)

In 1219 *Tchinguiz khan* had turned his arms against western Asia, and especially against the powerful realm of Khovaresm. All the countries between the Bolor and the Caspian sea had been con-

quered and devastated by Tchinguiz and his three sons. The conqueror himself pursuing the sultan Djelal-eddin, had pushed on as far as the Indus, whilst one division of his army, commanded by the generals Souboutai and Tchébé had penetrated to western Persia and Georgia, crossed the Caucasus, and in 1223 made their first appearance in Russia. Tchinguiz left western Asia with his army in 1224 and returned to Mongolia. A Mongol governor was left to administer the devastated countries. The conqueror died in 1227. His son and successor *Ogotai khan* (1229-41) sent an army to Persia again, where, in the meanwhile, sultan Djelal-eddin had succeeded to some extent in re-establishing his power. This army was commanded by the Mongol general *Tcharmogoun*,² who dispersed the sultan's armies, and after Djelal-eddin had been slain in 1231, continued to devastate the western part of Persia. A vast Mongol army was directed in 1235 under the supreme command of *Batou* the grandson of Tchinguiz, to the countries north of the Caspian sea. They devastated Russia, making it tributary, and carrying fire and slaughter westward, overran Poland, Moravia and Silesia, and ravaged Hungary. But in 1241 Batou left the devastated countries, and withdrew his armies, which retreat was occasioned probably by the Great khan Ogotai's death.

In the eastern part of Persia, it seems Khorassan was tranquilly governed by Mongol rulers, who had their seat in the city of *Thous*. But in the western part, in the province of Adjerbeidjan and the adjacent countries, the Mongol armies, continued during more than twenty years to commit all manner of atrocities. After Tcharmogoun's death *Baidjou* took the command. The name of this Mongol lieutenant was well known at that time, even in Europe; for several embassies were sent to him from the Pope. But notwithstanding the increasing power of the Mongols in Asia, and the terror they spread everywhere, the success of their arms in western Asia was not satisfactory. There was still the realm of the calif of Bagdad, which had preserved its independence; and in the mountains of Elburs, and in Couhistan, the Ismaélians or Assassins braved the Mongol arms in their impregnable fortresses and castles. Therefore one of the first cares of *Mangou khan* (1251-59), after having ascended the throne of his grandfather Tchinguiz, was the affairs in western Asia. In the same *couroultai* (assembly) in which Mangou was proclaimed Great khan, an expedition on a large scale to western Asia was decided upon, and

2. *Tcharmogoun's* name appears in the *T'ung kien kang mu*, the great history of China.

During the year 1258 it is there recorded, that before this time 抄馬那顏 *Tcha-ma no-yen* (*no-yen*=a Mongol title) had subdued several realms in the *Si-yü* (western countries).

Houlagou the younger brother of *Mangou* khan,³ was appointed commander-in-chief. To compose the army all the princes of the imperial family were obliged to furnish two men out of every ten of their troops. A thousand engineers from China had to get themselves ready to serve the catapults, and to be able to cast inflammable substances (naphtha). Order was given to reserve all pasture land westward of *Toungat* mountains,⁴ between *Caracorum* and *Bishbalik* (the present *Urumtsi*), for the cavalry. Besides this the roads were repaired and bridges were constructed over the rivers that had to be crossed. Order was given also in *Persia*, to prepare provisions for the troops.

The general *Kitoubouca*⁵ moved out with the vanguard of twelve thousand men, in July 1252. *Houlagou* left *Caracorum*, the residence of his brother, on the 2nd May, 1253, and went to his *ordo*⁶ in order to organize his army. On the 19th October, 1253, all being ready, he started for the west. In *Almalik* (see *Ch'ang-ch'un's* travels, note 72), *Houlagou* was well entertained by the princess *Organa*.⁷

3. According to *Rashid*, *Toulouï*, fourth son of *Tchinguiz* (拖雷 *T'o-lei* in the *Yüan shi*) had four sons by his principal wife *Siourcouctenê* (唆魯和帖尼 *So-lu ho-t'ie-ni* in the *Yüan shi*).

1. *Mangou*, Great khan, 1251-59. 蒙哥 *Meng-k'o* in the *Yüan shi*.

2. *Cubilai*, Great khan and emperor of China, 1260-95. 忽必烈 *Hu-bi-lie* in the *Yüan shi*.

3. *Houlagou*, Ilkhan of *Persia*, 1258-65. 旭烈兀 *Hü lie wu* in the *Yüan shi*.

4. *Arichouca*. 阿里不哥 *A-li-bu-k'o* in the *Yüan shi*.

Compare the genealogical table of the Mongol dynasty in the *Yüan shi*, chapter 107, which is in accordance with *Rashid's* statements.

4. The *Toungat* mountains of *Rashid* are probably the mountains called 唐麓 *T'ang-lu*, often mentioned in Chinese history, and at the present time called 唐奴 *T'ang-nu*. The chain takes its origin in the present *Uriangh'ai*, sending out numerous tributaries of the *Yenissey*, and stretches to the south-east, connecting with the mountains of *Caracorum* (see *Wenyukoff's* map of *Mongolia*). The great highway from *Caracorum* to western Asia seems to have passed through these mountains. On another page *Rashid* records, that *Rokn-ed-din*, the chief of the *Ismaélites* sent to *Mangou* khan, was killed in the *Toungat* mountains on his way back. We have seen, that *Ch'ang-ch'un* crossed the same mountains (he does not mention the name). *Ch'ang Te* in the *Si shi ki* also speaks of them.

5. In the *Yüan shi* his name reads 怯的不花 *K'ei-di-bu-hua*.

6. It is not known where *Houlagou's ordo* and his apanage were situated, but probably not far from *Caracorum*.

7. *Organa* was the widow of *Cara Houlagou* (哈刺旭烈 *Ha-la hü-lie* in the *Yüan shi*: *Organa* is not mentioned there), and *Cara Houlagou* was the grandson of *Tchinguiz* khan's second son *Tchagatai*. I have stated above (*Ch'ang-ch'un's* travels, note 153), that *Almalik* was the capital of *Tchagatai's* dominions. *Organa* reigned there 1252-1260. Col. *Yule* (*Cathay etc.* p. 522) has rightly pointed out, that the statement of *Rubruquis*, that he passed through a region called *Organnu*, in the year 1254, is founded on a misapprehension. He confounded the name of the princess with the name of the country. A similar misapprehension is found in *Huc's Voyage dans la Tartarie etc.* The traveller informs us (p. 56) of the existence of a kingdom in *Mongolia* called *Efe* (le royaume de *Efe*). Nobody would be able to find such a kingdom on any map of *Mongolia*. But *Huc* himself gives unconsciously the key to find his kingdom, in stating, that the king of it was a son-in-law of the emperor of China. *Efe* in *Manchou* means the son-in-law of the emperor. The word is used also at the present time by the Chinese.

Further on Houlagou was met by *Mass'oud*,⁸ governor of Turkistan and Transoxiana. Houlagou spent the whole summer of 1254 in Turkistan,⁹ and arrived at *Samarcand* in September 1255. In a lovely prairie near Samarcand a splended tent was pitched for the prince, who passed forty days here in drinking and debauchery. In *Kesh*¹⁰ Houlagou was met by *Argoun*, the governor-general of (eastern) Persia.¹¹ He spent a month there and published proclamations addressed to all the sovereigns of western Asia, in which he invited them to assist him in the extermination of the *Moulahida*.

The *Moulahida* or *Ismaëlians*,¹² also known by the name of *Assassins*, given to them by the crusaders, was a secret Mohammedan sect, which had its principal seats in a number of strong castles in the Elburs mountains and in Couhistan. The sect of the *Moulahida* was a branch of the *Shiyas* or adherents of Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, who was the fourth calif, and was overthrown by the Omayyads. His sons Hassan and Houssein were also killed. The *Shiyas* consider the califs of the Omayyad dynasty as usurpers, and believe that the legal pontifical dignity lies with the *Imams*. Ismaël, the fifth eldest son of the fifth Imam was addicted to drinking, and therefore deposed. His younger brother was made Imam. Then one part of the *Shiyas*, which recognized Ismaël as his father's successor, revolted; and this was the origin of the *Ismaëlian* sect. The principal seat of the *Ismaëlians* was in Syria. At the end of the 11th century, *Hassan Sabah*, one of their converts in Persia, made himself master of the mountain castle *Alamout* near Cazvin, which belonged to the Seldjouc Sultan Melik shah. Subsequently he conquered also the adjacent mountainous district *Rudbar*, the castles *Lembasser*, *Meimendouz* and others. He sent emissaries to *Couhistan*,¹³ who found means to get possession of the mountain castles

8. In the *Yüan shi*, Annals, A.D. 1251, Mass'oud's name is spelt 麻速忽 *Ma-su-hu*, and his appointment as governor of these countries is mentioned.

9. *Haithon* the Armenian, on his journey back from Caracorum, saw Houlagou at *Talas* in 1255. Compare *Voyage de Haithon etc.* par Klaproth, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, tom. xii, p. 283.

10. *Kesh*, south of Samarcand. See Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 109.

11. *Argoun* is mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, Annals, A.D. 1251. There it is said 阿兒渾 *A-rh-hun* was appointed governor at the river 阿母 *A-mu* (Amu-daria) and for other places.

12. *Moulahida* in Arabic means, as D'Ohsson explains, "égarés." Col. Yule translates it by "atheists, impious persons." The *Moulahida* are also called *Bathenians*, from a word signifying "esoteric." In the *Yüan shi* the *Moulahida* are termed 沒里奚 *Mu-li-hi*; sometimes 末來 *Mo-lai*.

13. *Couhistan* is the name of a mountainous country situated between Herat, Nishapur and Yazd. The principal city was *Catn*. Besides this the cities of *Zouzen* and *Town* are mentioned there. The name of *Givrdcouh* appears in the *Yüan shi* as 吉兒都怯 *Gi-r-du-kie*. The castles of *Alamout* and *Lembasser* are marked on an ancient Chinese map of central and western Asia of the date A.D. 1330, and spelt there 阿刺模忒 *A-lu-mu-te* and 蘭巴撒耳 *Lan-ba-sa-r*.

there ; the most important of which was *Guirdcouh*. From their residence, the castle of Alamout, Hassan Sabah and his successors spread terror over the whole of western Asia. Ismaëlian emissaries penetrated everywhere, and assassinated the people. Even the sovereigns were not secure. Two califs were assassinated by order of the chief of the Ismaëlians. At the time Tchinguiz khan arrived in Persia, Djelal-eddin Hassan was at the head of this sect, and sent an envoy to the conqueror. He died in 1221, when his son *Ala-eddin Mohammed* was only nine years old. In December 1255, Ala-eddin was assassinated at the instigation of his son *Rokn-eddin Kourshah*, who was chief of the Ismaëlians at the time Houlagou arrived.

On the 2nd of January 1259, Houlagou crossed the *Djihoun* (Amudaria). A lion hunt was arranged there, and nine lions were killed. Houlagou remained till spring in the prairie of *Shoubourgan* and received there Shah-in Shah the brother of Rokn-eddin Kourshah. Houlagou arrived at *Zaweh*, and gave orders to the generals Koukâ Ilka and Kitoubouca to achieve the conquest of Couhistan, in which country Kitoubouca had besieged the castle of *Guirdcouh* for two years. The city of *Toun* was taken and destroyed. Houlagou proceeded to *Thous*, which at that time was the residence of the governor-general of Persia, and then went to *Kaboushan* in the province of *Nishapur*.¹⁴ From *Bistham*, Houlagou sent envoys to Rokn-eddin ; he summoned him to destroy his castles, and to repair in person to the prince's encampment. Rokh-eddin begged the favor to retain two or three of his castles, and sent orders to the commandant of *Guirdcouh* to surrender the fortress.

In the beginning of October, Houlagou arrived at *Demavend*,¹⁵ and passed then to *Rai*.¹⁶ Rokn-eddin was again summoned to destroy his fortresses, but he tried to protract the negotiation until the winter, when his fortresses would become inaccessible. Houlagou then gave orders, that his troops should enter the district of *Rudbar* from different parts at the same time, and first attack the castle of *Meimoundiz*. Boucatimour and Kouka Ilka, with the right flank, came from *Mazanderan*. Negoudar Ogoul and Kitoubouca with the left flank went

14. *Thous* is marked on the ancient Chinese map as 途思 *Tu-sze*, and *Nishapur* is repeatedly mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, and generally written 你沙不兒 *Ni-sha-bu-r*.

15. *Demavend* is a city situated at the foot of the majestic mount of the same name, in the Elburs chain. The top of the *Demavend* covered with perpetual snow, rises to a height of more than 20,000 feet. In the *Yüan shi*, chap. 120, in the biography of the general *Hosze-mai-li* (Ismaël ?), this mount is spoken of. It is stated there, that the troops of the

suau-tan (sultan of Khovaresm) were vanquished near the mount 禿馬溫 *Tu-ma-wen*.

16. *Rai*, near the present Teheran, is a very ancient city, mentioned also in Holy Scripture.

by the route of *Khar* and *Semnan*.¹⁷ The princes Bolgaï and Toutar came from the side of Alamout. Houlagou himself directed the centre of the army, from Yeskele on the *Talecan* road to Meimoundiz.¹⁸ The fortress was battered down, and Rokn-eddin, who was in Meimoundiz, surrendered himself, and gave orders to the commandants of all the other castles to surrender. All obeyed except Alamout and Lembasser, who refused to capitulate. Houlagou himself then led his troops to the mount Alamout, by the road leading through *Sheherek*, the ancient capital of the sovereigns of *Deilem*.¹⁹ Alamout capitulated at the end of the year 1256; and Lembasser was taken in January 1257 by the Mongols. More than 50 castles then surrendered, and were all demolished. Rokn-eddin was sent to Mangou khan at Caracorum. The khan, who would not see him, ordered him to be taken back to Persia; but on the route home he was killed in the Tountat mountains. (See note 4) In Persia all the Ismaëlians who had been taken prisoners were killed.

After having exterminated the Ismaëlians, Houlagou spent some time in the neighborhood of *Casvin*, and then started for *Hamedan*, passing through *Ebhar*.²⁰ An expedition was prepared now against *Mostassim* the calif of Bagdad, who had reigned there since 1242. On September 21st 1257, Houlagou sent an envoy to Bagdad, and summoned the calif to raze to the ground the wall of the city, and appear in person before the prince; to which the calif gave a haughty reply. Houlagou having then decided to attack Bagdad, Baidjou, who was stationed in Roum, received orders to move out, and with his troops to form the right flank. He crossed the *Tigris* at *Mossoul*,²¹ and joined the corps of Boucatimour, Sougoundjac, the princes Bolga, Toutar, Couli, etc. The right flank was directed towards the western side of Bagdad. Kitouboca and Coudoussoun, commanding the left flank, invaded Louristan. Houlagou, with the centre of the army, took the route of *Kermanshah*²² and *Holvan*. The generals Konka Ilka, Oroctou, etc, were with him. Kermanshah was devastated. On December 18th 1257, Houlagou reached the river *Holvan* and rested there thirteen days. *Eibeg* "le petit *Devatdar* or Vice-chancellor" as

17. *Khar* or *Khvar*, (Χοαρηνή of Isidor, —Choara of Pliny) is to the south-east of Teheran. *Semnan* lies further to the east. Both places are mentioned in the ancient Chinese map as 胡瓦耳 *Hu-wa-rh* and 西模娘 *Si-mu-mang*.

18. He went by the road leading from *Casvin* to *Resht*.

19. *Deilen* on the ancient Chinese map is written 低簾 *Di-lien*.

20. On the ancient Chinese map, *Casvin* is written 可疾云 *K'o-dsi-yün*, and *Ebhar* 阿入哈耳 *A-ba-ha-r*. *Hamedan* I find is not mentioned there.

21. *Mossoul* reads 毛夕里 *Mao-si-li* on the ancient Chinese map.

22. *Kermanshah* on the ancient Chinese map is 乞里茫沙杭 *Ki-li-mang-sha-hang*.

D'Ohsson calls him, and the general *Feth-uddin Ibn Corer*, commanding the calif's army, attacked the vanguard of the right flank, as it approached Bagdad, near *Anbar*. The Mongols retired to the *Dodjeil* (the canal which connects the Tigris and the Euphrates), where the bulk of the Mongol army was posted. The devatdar imprudently advised to pursue the enemy. The Mongols opened the dikes during the night, and the country behind the calif's army was inundated and so the greater part perished. The generals *Ibn Corer* and *Cora Sincor* were killed. The devatdar escaped with some residue to Bagdad. A few days after, the right flank of the Mongol army reached the suburb of Bagdad on the western bank of the Tigris. Kitoubouca after having devastated Louristan, approached the calif's capital. From the 18th of January, 1258, Houlagou encamped on the east, and the city was invested. On the 30th the assault began from all sides, and was continued six days. The passage of the river being cut off by armed boats, the calif resolved to send a deputation to Houlagou. The prince demanded the delivery of the ministers, and indeed the calif sent Eibeg the devatdar and Soleimanshah the generalissimo to Houlagou, who ordered both to be executed. On the 10th of February, the calif himself entered Houlagou's encampment with his three sons and surrendered his capital, which was then plundered during seven days.²³

On the 20th of February, 1258, Houlagou left Bagdad, owing to the infection of the air by the great number of dead bodies. On the 21st, the calif and his eldest son were executed near a place called *Vacaf*. Houlagou remained there until the 8th of March. Kouka Ilka and Carabouca with 3000 men remained at Bagdad. Boucatimour (the brother-in-law of Houlagou) was ordered to march to the city of *Hallé* on the Euphrates, which surrendered. Boucatimour took also *Vassit*, *Coufah*²⁴ and other cities. Houlagou returned to *Hamedan*, directed his arms against *Erbil* (Arbela), which was taken by storm, and proceeding to the north arrived at the lake of *Ormia*. There he ordered a castle to be built on the island of *Tala*, in the middle of the lake, for the purpose of depositing the immense treasures captured at Bagdad. A great part of the booty however, had been sent to Mangou khan.

In the beginning of August 1258, we find Houlagou in *Méraga*, which place he soon left for *Tebritz*, where he fixed his residence and received the homage of the *Atabey* of *Fars*, the sultan of *Roum* and

23. *Bagdad* is not marked on the ancient Chinese map, but I find in the description accompanying the map, this name written 八吉打 *Ba-gi-da*.

24. *Coufah* is omitted on the ancient Chinese map, but the name of a place 苦法 *K'u-fa* is mentioned in the description accompanying the map, as a city of Persia, together with 兀乞八刺 *Wu-ki-ba-la* (*Okbara*, an ancient city of Chaldea) and 瓦夕的 *Wa-si-di*, which is the *Vassit* of the Persian author.

other little sovereigns of western Asia. In the same year, the Mongol general *Kitoubouca* is reported to have reduced the country of *Lour* or *Louristan*²⁵ and its Atabey Téguelé.

I apologize for this long extract from the Persian historians, about Houlagou's expedition to western Asia. But I considered it necessary, before presenting the concise and often incoherent accounts given regarding the same matters, by a Chinese author in the *Si shi ki*, to give a more succinct statement of the facts. I thus also avoid having my translation of the Chinese report surcharged with notes. I do not mention details about the expedition undertaken by Houlagou in September 1259 to *Syria*, the storm of *Aleppo* in 1260, and the conflicts with the *sultans* of *Egypt*; for these events do not seem to be alluded to in the *Si shi ki*. They are however shortly recorded in the biography of the general *Kouo khan* (see above) in the *Yüan shi*.

Let me finally quote, for the sake of completeness, a few passages from the Chinese annals, referring to the expedition of Houlagou.

In the *Yüan shi*, Annals, A. D. 1252, it is stated: The emperor (Mangou) sent the general 怯的不花 *Kie-di-bu-hua* (Kitoubouca of Rashid) to attack the 沒里奚 *Mu-li-hi* (Mulahida or Ismaëlians), and to lay siege to the fortress 末來吉兒都怯 *Mo-lai Gi-r-du-kie* (Guirdcouh of the Mulahida). The prince *Hü-lie-wu* (Houlagou) received orders to subdue 西域素丹諸國 *Si-yü su-dan chu kuo* (i. e. the countries of the west belonging to the dominions of the sultan).

It is further stated that in the following year *Hü-lie-wu* was ordered to start, together with 兀良合台 *Wu-liang-ho-dai*²⁶ for the west, and to subdue 合里法 *Ha-li-fa* (the calif), 八哈塔 *Ba-ha-da* (Bagdad) and other countries.

In the year 1257, the *Yüan shi* mentions the taking of the fortress *Gi-r-du-kie* by *Kie-di-bu-hua*. In 1258 it is recorded, that *Hü-lie-wu* subdued the empire of the *Ha-li-fa* in the *Si-yü*, and dispatched a courier to the emperor to report the victories, after which we find no more accounts in the Chinese annals regarding Houlagou's expedition. But

25. According to D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. iv, p. 171, *Lour* is a mountainous country between *Khouzistan* and *Irac Adjem*. Going from Isphahan to Toster, one must traverse this country. On the ancient Chinese map, I find 羅耳 *Lo-r* placed to the west of Kermanshah.

26. *Wu-liang-ho-dai* was the son of the celebrated Mongol general 速不台 *Su-bu-dai*, whose name was well known by his contemporaries in Europe; for *Su-bu-dai* devastated the countries around the Caucasus, Russia, Hungary, etc., and is mentioned repeatedly in the Russian annals. His biography as well as the biography of his son are found in the *Yüan shi*. It is said there, that *Wu-liang-ho-dai* took part in the expeditions to Russia, Poland and Germany, and distinguished himself in the conquest of the Chinese province of *Yün-nan*; but nothing is reported there about his being with Houlagou in western Asia. Probably the imperial order was recalled, and *Wu-liang-ho-dai* was employed in *Yün-nan*. Rashid-eddin states that *Ouriangcadai* (evidently the same as *Wu-liang-ho-dai*) waged war in *Yün-nan* in the years 1253-58. (D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. ii, p. 318.)

many interesting statements about it appear in some of the biographies in the *Yüan shi*, as I shall show farther on.

TRANSLATION OF THE 西使記 *Si shi ki*.

In the year 1252, 旭烈兀 *Hü-lie-wu* (Houlagou) the younger brother of the emperor (Mangou), had taken the supreme command of the troops, and received orders to attack the *Si-yü* (western Asia). In the space of six years he had succeeded in extending the frontier of the empire by nearly 10,000 *li*.

On the twentieth day of the first month of 1259, 常德 *Ch'ang Te*²⁷ set out as a courier dispatched to the west (to the prince *Hü-lie-wu*).²⁸

After leaving 和林 *Ho-lin*,²⁹ he travelled through the country of 兀孫 *Wu-sun*³⁰ in a north-western direction, more than two hundred *li*, the ground rising gradually. After a halt, the traveller then crossed the

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27. The reader will meet very often with the name of our traveller *Ch'ang Te*, in this translation. It does not occur however in the Chinese text of the narrative of travel. It is only once in the introduction that *Ch'ang Te* is mentioned in connection with the embassy to the west. But I find it necessary, for the sake of clearness, to supply from time to time his name in the translation. The Chinese style is generally so sparing of words, that in a whole narrative of travel one may find no indications, which would enable him to decide, whether the traveller speaks for himself, or another reports his travels. It is often even difficult to make out whether the article one reads is the narrative of a journey, or a compilation of descriptions of countries. The character 至 *ch'í* for instance, occurring very often in Chinese geographical literature may mean, "I arrived," "we arrived," "he arrived," or "one arrives," etc. The correct translation depends upon a right consideration of the circumstances.
28. 馳驛西覲 Pauthier and Rémusat translate these four characters,—"Un courrier, venu de l'ouest, fut introduit près de l'empereur et lui remit le rapport suivant." The French sinologues were misled by the character 覲 which generally means,—"to be introduced to the emperor," but it has often also the meaning,—"to be introduced to a superior" and here especially, this character is intended to indicate *Ch'ang Te's* mission to Houlagou. Owing to this misunderstanding, Rémusat and Pauthier take the date of the departure of the courier for the date of his return.
29. *Ho-lin* is the Chinese name for *Caracorum*, the celebrated residence of the first successors of Tchinguiz khan. The full name, as it appears in the *Yüan shi*, is 哈刺和林 *Ha-la ho-lin* (*Caracorum*), and it is said there that this name is derived from the name of a river *Ha-la ho-lin*. (Rashid states, that *Caracorum* was the name of a mountain. D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 430) I shall not enter here into detailed accounts of ancient *Caracorum*, which may be read in Rémusat's *Recherches sur la ville de Caracorum*, Paris, 1825. I will only mention that the foundation of *Caracorum* was laid near the river *Orkhon*, in the year 1235, by the emperor *Ugotai*. His successors *Couyouc* and *Mangou* resided there, but *Coubilai khan* transferred the residence in 1260 to 大都 *Ta-tu*, the present *Peking*. In the middle of the 13th century *Caracorum* was visited by *Rubruquis*; but after him for more than six centuries, no European had passed through that country, and we knew the position of *Caracorum* only from the vague Chinese descriptions. During the last year, however, Mr. *Paderin*, secretary of the Russian consulate at *Urga*, on his journey to *Uliassutai*, saw the ruins of the ancient Mongol metropolis, and the interesting report on his investigations there has been published in the Reports of the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, tom. ix, pp. 10 seq.
30. The Chinese text has *wu-sun chung*, in the middle of *Wu-sun*. This passage is somewhat obscure. Rémusat suggests that *wu-sun* in Mongol means "water" or "river," and Pauthier translates,—"les territoires situés entre les rivières." But the Chinese scholars whom I have consulted are of opinion, that *wu-sun* is the name of a country. Indeed there was before our era, and in the early period after it a people called *Wu-sun*. But the

瀚海 *han-hai*.³¹ The country was very high and cold, and notwithstanding the great heat in summer, the snow never melts there. the rocky mountains were covered all over with fine pine trees. After seven days travelling in a south-western direction Ch'ang Te had crossed the *han-hai*, and descending gradually for three hundred *li*, arrived at a river, several *li* broad. It was called 昏木輦 *Hun mu-lien*,³² and in summer often overflows the country. He crossed in a boat; and a few days later passed the river 龍骨 *Lung-gu*.³³

Thence Ch'ang Te proceeded again in a north-western direction; the distance by road southward to *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Bishbalik, the present Urumtsi. The latter way was followed by Ch'ang-ch'un, see above) at the nearest point being five hundred *li*, (through a country inhabited by) a great number of Chinese.³⁴ They cultivate wheat, barley,³⁵ 黍 *shu* (millet, panicum) and 穀 *ku* (the popular name for *setaria italica*). w/

The river (Ulungur) flows to the west, stagnates and forms a lake, which is more than a thousand *li* in circumference.³⁶ The name of this lake is 乞則里八寺 *Ki-tse-li-ba-sze*.³⁷ It abounds in good fish.

name is written 烏孫 in Chinese history, and this people dwelt at first north of the present Kan-su, and emigrated afterwards to the present Ili. At the time of the Mongols, it had disappeared long centuries ago. The Chinese however like to use ancient names of countries in their books.

31. Regarding *han-hai*, see Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 53.
32. Capt. Matussowsky informs me, from personal observation, that the Dsabgan river of our maps, in western Mongolia, is still called *Hun muren* by the Mongols.
33. *Lung-gu* is probably the same river which is marked on modern Chinese maps 烏龍古 *Wu-lung-gu* (Ulungur), and which discharges itself into the Kizilbash lake.
34. 復西北行與別失八里南路相直近五百里多漢民 This passage has, I think, been incorrectly rendered by Rénusat, who translates,—"On retourna alors vers le nord-ouest, la route est au midi de Bischbalikh, à la distance de 500 li. Il y a là beaucoup de Chinois." Ch'ang Te's route was north of Bishbalik, and not south of it as Rénusat translates. Even at the present day there are Chinese settlements on the river *Ulungur*. On Wenyukoff's map of western Mongolia, a Chinese city *Boluntogoi* is marked there not far from the lake Kizilbash.
35. 二麥 *rh mai*, the two kinds of *mai*, i. e. 大麥 *ta mai*, "barley," and 小麥 *siao mai*, "wheat." Rénusat translates *rh mai* by "on fait deux récoltes de froment."
36. 河西注瀦爲海約千餘里 I cannot understand why Rénusat translates this passage,—"A l'occident du fleuve est une île qui est sur une petite mer, etc." There is no character which could be rendered by island. Rénusat probably took the character 瀦 meaning "stagnant water" for the similar-looking one 渚 meaning "a small island." Rénusat did not translate, that the lake is about 1000 *li* in circumference. I repeat here, that in my criticism of the French translations, I always refer to the texts which the French sinologues used, and which lie before me.
37. This lake bears the name of *Kizilbash* up to the present day. It is repeatedly mentioned in the *Yüan shi*. Compare chapter 149, Biography of *Te-hai*. There it is said, that the general 哲伯 *Dje-bo*, on his expedition to the west, crossed the lake *Ki-tse-li-ba-shi* and attacked 鐵山 *T'ie-shan*. (*Dje-bo* was a famous Mongol general, who was with Subutai at the expedition to the Caucasus and to Russia. He had before slain the khan of Carakitai. Raslid calls him *Tjébé*.) The lake Kizilbash was visited by Europeans two years ago. Capt. Sossnowsky and afterwards Capt. Matssowsky, two meritorious Russian officers, well known by their explorations in the unknown regions of western Mongolia, saw and described the Kizilbash, which previous to that time had only been

There are mills (on the river), which are put in motion by the running water.³⁸

Proceeding gradually westward, Ch'ang Te arrived at a city called 業滿 *Ye-man*³⁹ (Pauthier reads incorrectly *Nie-man*). Further to the south-west a city 孛羅 *Bo-lo*⁴⁰ was reached. In this country wheat and rice are cultivated.⁴¹ On the mountains many cypresses (栢 *po*) are found, but they do not thrive vigorously, and grow tortuously between the stones.⁴² The dwelling houses and bazaars stand interspersed among the gardens. The houses are built of clay, and the windows furnished with glass.⁴³

known from Chinese maps. Capt. Matussowsky, who determined the position of the lake, informed me, when on his way through Peking, that its position lies more to the west than that generally given to it in our maps; and that it is about 150 Russian versts in circuit. Its elevation is 1682 feet. Having seen Rémusat's translation of the *Sî shi kî*, he looked for the island in the lake, but could see nothing of it.

38. 有碾磑亦以水激 Pauthier translates,—"Il y a aussi des bancs de pierres formés artificiellement pour arrêter le cours de l'eau, et qui servent à prendre le poisson."
39. *Ye-man* means probably *Emil* or *Imil*. A river of this name is often mentioned by Rashid. The Carakitai on their peregrinations to the west, had founded a city there. (D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 442) Tchinguiz khan, on his way home from Persia in 1224, was met at this river Imil by his grandsons *Coubilai* and *Houlagou*, then eleven and nine years old, both so illustrious at a later period in history. One of them is reported to have killed a hare, the other a deer. (D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 323) Conyoc, Great khan, 1246-48, had his appanage on the river Imil. In the *Yüan shi*, Annals, A. D. 1252, we read that the emperor Mangou, after his accession to the throne, ordered the princes to repair to their proper places. *Hai-du* (*Caidou* of Rashid, the grandson of Ogotai khan) was sent to 海押立 *Hai-ya-li* (*Cayalic* of the Persian authors, *Cailac* of Rubruquis), and *To-to* (also a grandson of Ogotai) to 葉密立 *Ye-mi-li* (*Imil*). On the ancient Chinese map, a place 也迷失 *Ye-mi-shi* is marked, north-east of Alimali (Kouldja), and is intended probably also for Imil. A river of this name (*Emil* or *Imil*) is still found on our maps. It runs from east to west, enters the Russian frontier, and discharges itself into the lake Alak kul. The country around the Imil is famed for its pastures. Capt. Matussowsky informs me that in the valley of the Imil, the ruins of an ancient city are still to be seen.
40. *Bo-lo* is probably the same place marked on the ancient Chinese map 普剌 *Pu-la*, between Yemishi (Imil) and Alimali (Kouldja), and the same place mentioned under the name of *Pulad* by Rashid-eddin. (D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. ii, p. 353) Algou the grandson of Tchagatai, is reported to have vanquished the army of Aricbouca, the brother of Coubilai khan, in 1262, near the city of *Pulad* and the lake *Sout* (the Sairam lake as I shall show further on). After this Algou returned to his residence on the river Hilé (Hii). The city of *Phulat* appears also in the narrative of Haithon's journey from Caracorum back to Little Armenia (see Klaproth's translation in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, tom. xii, p. 283), as a city of Turkestan, not far from the lake *Sout kul*. The place where the ancient city of Pulad or Bolo stood, must be looked for I think, on the river or country, which is marked on the Russian map of Turkestan as *Borotala* (green plain in the language of the natives). The river runs from west to east, south of the Emil river and north-east of Sairam lake, and discharges into the lake Kharatal.
41. 種皆麥稻 I cannot understand why Rémusat translates,—"On n'y sème que du riz." I have stated above that *ta mai* in Chinese means "barley" and *siao mai* "wheat." I may observe, that when the character 麥 *mai* in Chinese books occurs alone, "wheat" is always to be understood, which is the more important of the two cereals. Barley is not much cultivated in China.
42. 山多栢不能株絡石而長 Rémusat translates,—"Les montagnes sont couvertes de mélèzes. On n'y peut faire de plantations, à cause de la grande quantité de pierres." Pauthier has another version, which is altogether unintelligible.
43. 城居肆園闌錯土屋窗戶皆琉璃 Rémusat renders this passage: "Les murailles sont hautes. On y voit des boutiques fermées, des enclos pour exposer les

To the north of this place (Bolo) is the 海鐵山 *Hai t'ie shan* (the Iron hill of the lake). A furious wind comes out from the mountains and blows people passing there into the lake.⁴⁴

Proceeding south-west twenty *li*, Ch'ang Te reached a defile, which is called 鐵木爾攔察 *T'ie-mu-r-ts'an-ch'a*. It was guarded by Chinese. The way leading through the defile was very rugged with overhanging rocks. After quitting this defile Ch'ang Te arrived at 阿里麻里 *A-li-ma-li*.⁴⁵ There the reservoirs⁴⁶ in the market-places were connected by

marchandises, des maisons de terre, dont les portes et les fenêtres sont garnies de verre." *Ch'uang ku* means "window;" not "windbws and doors." Pauthier was not satisfied with Rémusat's translation, and rendered the same passage as follows,—"Il y a beaucoup d'habitations et de grandes places de marchés; il y a des jardins où sont bâties des maisons en terre, dans lesquelles on lave les métaux et on polit les pierres précieuses." Pauthier was puzzled by the character 錯 which according to Morrison's dictionary may mean "to work stones or gems." But it means also "mixed," and in connexion with 間 can only have the latter meaning.

44. There can be little doubt, that by this lake the *Alak kul* is meant. Col. Yule, in his able and admirable review of mediaval travellers, has pointed out (*Carpini*, etc.; p. cccii) that Rubruquis as well as Carpini, on their journey to the Great khan, passed by the Alak kul lake. Rubruquis after quitting *Cailac*, arrived in four days at a great lake, with a great island in it. A valley opened upon the head of the lake from the south-east, and up this valley among the mountains was another lake. Through this gorge at times such furious gusts of wind blew, that riders were apt to be blown into the lake. In Carpini's narrative, the same lake is noticed, with several islands in it; and this traveller speaks also of the rushing wind. As corroborating his views, Yule has quoted a Russian traveller *Putintsoff*, who visited the Alak kul in the beginning of this century, and mentions rocks of different colours in the lake, and also the furious winds blowing there. I will quote yet another Russian traveller, *Mr. Schrenk*, who gives more detailed accounts regarding the Alak kul. (Compare Petermann's *Geogr. Mittheil.* 1868, p. 79) Schrenk states: "There are several islands in the lake. One of them, *Araltjube*, properly a peninsula, has an elevation of fifty feet and consists of hornstone porphyry, of a dark brown colour, in some places with metallic lustre. To the south-east of the Alak kul is another lake *Djelanashitsh kul*, or 'open lake,' so called because it can be seen from a great many points in the neighborhood." This is probably the second lake which Rubruquis saw. Rubruquis' valley opening upon the head of the lake from the south-east can also be identified, when comparing it with Schrenk's report, in which it is stated, that from the above-mentioned "open lake," a narrow valley separating the *Barlyk* from the *Alatau* mountain, leads in a south-eastern direction to the steppes of Mongolia. This was probably the way followed by Rubruquis and Carpini, who both came from the Volga, and therefore proceeded to Mongolia by a route lying more to the north, than the route of the Chinese travellers Ch'ang-ch'un and Ch'ang Te, who both went from Mongolia to Samarcand, and passed south of the Alak kul, by the Sairam lake to Alimali, etc. I need not observe, that the Chinese name *Hai t'ie shan* (the Iron hill in the lake) suits very well the description given by Schrenk of the island in the Alak kul. But it must be noticed, that Ch'ang Te, in speaking of this island, only states that it is to the north of the place he passed through. He did not himself see the Alak kul.

45. Twenty *li* is probably a mistake, or there must be a break in the narrative. The text leads us to understand twenty *li* from the city of Bolo, for that was the last place mentioned; but this distance assigned between Bolo and the defile would not answer the truth. There can be no doubt, that the defile here noticed is the same as described in Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, and passed by the latter before arriving at Alimali. But it is strange that Ch'ang Te does not speak of the Sairam lake (the Heavenly lake of Ch'ang-ch'un) before entering the defile from the north. I have stated on a previous page (Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 72) that Ch'ang-ch'un passed through a defile in the Borokhoro mountains, north of the present Kouldja, a branch of the great chain of the Celestial mountains. The Borokhoro mountains of the Russian map are termed *Talki* on Chinese maps; and besides the description of the Talki defile as given in note 72, I find in the same modern Chinese work *Sin kiang tchi lio*, another reference made to this defile, which affords additional corroboration for identifying it with the difficult road made through the mountains by the son of Tchingiz khan, who had built there forty-eight bridges, as Ch'ang-ch'un

running water. As regards fruits there were melons, grapes and pomegranates of excellent quality. The *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans) in Alimali lived mixed up with the Chinese, and gradually their customs had got changed into the customs of the middle kingdom.⁴⁷

South (of Alimali) there was a city called 赤木兒 *Ch'i-mu-r*. Amongst the inhabitants were a great many Chinese from 井 *Ping* and 汾 *Fén*.⁴⁸

There is in this country an animal which resembles a tiger, but its hair is more dense, and is gold coloured, while the skin is without stripes. It is very ferocious and attacks men.⁴⁹ There is also an insect

notices. The *Sin kiang tchi ho* states, in describing the pass of Talki, that at the present time, forty-two bridges have to be passed in crossing the mountain. (Compare Stan. Julien's translation in the *Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique*, p. 58) Putimtsoff, who travelled from Bukhtarminsk to Kouldja in 1811 informs us, that the great highway from Peking to Kouldja, leading along the northern slope of the Celestial mountains, passes by the lake Sairam, and that between this lake and Kouldja, a road has been made in ancient time through the mountains. He gives nearly the same description regarding the defile as in Ch'ang-ch'un's narrative. (Compare Ritter's *Asien*, tom. ii, p. 388) The defile in question was known in the 13th century by the name of "Iron gate." D'Ohsson, (l. c. tom. ii, p. 353) states, according to the Persian authors, that Assoutai, a general commanding Aricbouca's army passed the defile "Porte de fer," crossed the river Hilé (Ili) and took Alimalik. The name *Tie-mu-r-ts'an-ch'a* given by Ch'ang Te to the defile may have also the meaning of "Iron gate," for *temur* in the language of the Turks means "iron." I am not able to state what foreign word *t'san-ch'a* is intended to represent.* Let me quote yet another mediæval traveller, whose itinerary proves, that in the Mongol time the great highway from Caracorum to western Asia passed by the lake Sairam. *Hai-thon* the Armenian (see note 40) after quitting Phulat (on the river Borotala of our days), arrived at the *Sout kul* or "Milk lake," and then proceeded to *Haloualekh* (it is not difficult to recognize in this name a corruption of Alimalik) and *Tian-balekh* (a place 亦刺八里 *I-la-ba-li* is marked on my ancient Chinese map southwest of Alimali), crossed the river *Ilan sou* (Ili river?), traversed one branch of the *Thoros* mountain and reached *Talas*. The above-mentioned *Sout kul* is, as Klaproth has pointed out, the same as the Sairam lake. Klaproth states, that the Kirghiz up to the present day call this lake *Sout kul* or "Milk lake," whilst its Mongol name is *Tchagan sairin nor*, "White lake of tranquillity."

46. The Chinese text has 井 which properly means "wells."

47. 同紇與漢民雜居其俗漸染頗似中國 Panthier translates, that the customs of the Chinese have changed into the customs of the Mohammedans.

48. 居多井汾人 Panthier translates,—"La population y est si nombreuse qu'elle forme une foule confuse et très mêlée." He did not recognize that 井 *Ping* and 汾 *Fén* are proper names. *Ping tcheou* was the name of one of the twelve provinces into which China was divided four thousand years ago, corresponding to the northern part of the present provinces of Chi-li and Shan-si. We must not be surprised at meeting this name in a work published in the 13th century, after it had disappeared from Chinese maps for many centuries. Chinese authors even in our days consider it a requisite of the erudite style, to use the most ancient name of places in their writings instead of the common ones. Thus we find in official papers 蜀 *shu* used to designate the province of *Sze-ch'uan*; 滇 *Tien* used for *Yün-nan*; 粵 *Yüe* for *Kuang-tung* and *Kuang-si*. The place *Fén* mentioned in the Chinese text means *Fén-tcheou*, now *Fén-tcheou fu* in Shan-si. Even at the present time, the people of the province of Shan-si are much inclined to seek their fortune far from their native soil.

49. This description seems to point to the *lynx* (felis lynx). I am not aware, that the lynx exists in China proper. Father *David*, the intrepid traveller and naturalist, who has visited a great part of China, does not mention the lynx in his list of Chinese animals, nor have I seen it represented in his beautiful collection exhibited in Peking. But the fur of

* See note D.

resembling a spider. When the poison of it enters a man's body, violent thirst is felt. Should he then drink water he will die instantly.⁵⁰ But when he can intoxicate himself by grape wine to induce vomiting, then the poison is neutralized.⁵¹ They have also a kind of wine with a strong smell 嗜酒.

Going from the city of Bolo westward, the coins in use are made of gold, silver and copper, and bear inscriptions; but they have no square holes.⁵²

Ch'ang Te now entered the country called 麻阿 *Ma-a*.⁵³ In this

the lynx is well known in the north of China by the name of 猞猁 *she-li-sun*. This is not a Chinese name, but represents the name of the animal in Mongol or Manchu (*sheluss, shelun*). I have been told that it bears about the same name in the Kalmuk language. The Asiatic lynx is distinguished from the European one by the want of spots on the skin. Its hair is very thick. *9125 comes from the Wikansu and Dzungar*

50. 有蟲如蛛毒中人則煩渴飲水立死 Rémusat has distorted this passage by the following translation: "Il y a aussi un insecto qui ressemble à une araignée. Il est venimeux; et s'il s'en trouve dans l'eau qu'un homme boit, il tombe mort à l'instant." Panthier has rendered the sense correctly.

51. In a recent pamphlet on Russian Turkistan, by Mr. A. Petzhold, I find the following account regarding venomous arachnids met with in that country: "There are several kinds of scorpions and *phalanges* (*solpuga araneoides* and *solpuga intrepida*), a spider termed *karakurt* by the natives (the Kirghiz call it so, as I was informed in Peking by a Russian gentleman from Turkistan). The scientific name of it is *latrodectes lugubris*. A tarantula (*lycosa singoriensis*) is also met there. The sting of all these insects mentioned, is dreaded by the natives; it is however not mortal, if not aggravated by complications." I am not able to state, which of these venomous arachnids is meant by our Chinese traveller; perhaps the phalange, the most conspicuous of them. A very correct Chinese description is given of the phalange in the *Si yü wen kien lu*, a record of eastern Turkistan and central Asia, published by a Manchu officer, from personal observation in 1777.

The author states: "The 八叉蟲 *pa-cha ch'ung* (the insect with eight legs) is found everywhere in the countries of the *sin kiang* (the new frontier,—Turkistan). It resembles the spider, and is of a roundish form and dirty yellow colour. It has eight not very long legs

and a reddish brown mouth. The mouth is formed by four branches. (岐). (I may observe that the mandibles of the phalange present four sharp claws with which they inflict wounds.) When the insect bites iron, it can be heard. The body of it is yellowish green, the skin is transparent like that of the silkworm. It is found in damp places, near canals and also in the houses. The larger ones are the size of a hen's egg; the smaller ones are as big as a walnut. (The phalanges I have seen in Persia were not bigger than a pigeon's egg, i. e. the body.) When a violent wind blows they quit their holes, and aided by the wind enter the houses. They run very quickly, and when angry, rise on their eight legs and attack men. If one should happen to creep upon a man's body, he must not touch it, but wait until it goes away of its own accord, when there will be no danger. But as soon as one interferes with the insect, he is bitten immediately. The poison enters the body, causes great pain, and penetrates to the heart, and to the marrow of the bones. When in such a case immediate help cannot be obtained, the man's body will mortify and death will ensue. When he has been only slightly bitten, if he catch the insect and bruise it, there will be no danger. But when it has succeeded in spitting a white web on the wound, then death will be inevitable. Sometimes the sap expressed from the plant

茜草 *si-ts'ao* (a kind of madder plant, *rúbia*) and applied to the wound is useful, but generally out of a hundred men bitten by the *pa-cha ch'ung* only one or two escape."

52. The Chinese have only copper coins, which are provided with square holes, as I have stated in a previous note. Ingots of silver, —*sycee*,—estimated by weight form the money in use. The masses of dollars brought every year to China from America and Europe do not circulate but are immediately melted by the Chinese into ingots, which for commercial purposes are cut into small pieces and weighed. The weight is different in almost every city.

53. The Chinese text has 至麻阿中 *chi ma a chung*. The character *chung* "in the middle of" seems to denote that by *Ma-a* a country is meant, not a place. Rémusat is wrong

country the people (in winter) put horses to sledges (拖床 *t'o-ch'uang*. This is, up to this time, the common Chinese name for sledges), and carry heavy burdens in this manner from station to station, going very quickly. It is reported that the 乞里乞西 *Ki-li-ki-sze* (Kirghiz; see Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 157) instead of horses use dogs (for drawing sledges).⁵⁴

On the 24th of the 2nd month (in the first half of April) Ch'ang Te passed 亦堵 *Yi-tu* situated between two mountains.⁵⁵ The ground there was level and the population numerous. The country was intersected in all directions by canals, which irrigated the fields. Numerous ancient walls and other ruins were seen. The people said, that in former times the 契丹 *K'i-tan* dwelt there.⁵⁶ Ch'ang Te calculated that this country was fifteen thousand *li* distant from *Ho-lin* (Caracorum). (One of my editions has five thousand *li*, which would be near the truth.) In the neighborhood there is a river called 亦運 *Yi-yün*. It runs bubbling to the east.⁵⁷ The natives say, that this is the source of the *huang ho* (yellow river).⁵⁸

in translating: "On arriva chez les *Ma-a-chung*." Compare also note 30 above, *Ma-a-chung*. I am however embarrassed as regards the identification of the country *Ma-a*. Perhaps this name is intended for *Mavarannahar*, by which term the Persian authors understand what we call *Transoxiana*, the countries beyond (east of) the Oxus. *Mavarannahar* in Arabic has also the meaning "transfluvialis." Properly only the land between the Oxus (Amu-daria) and the Sihoun (Sir-daria) was called so, whilst the countries east of the Sihoun, were termed *Turkistan*. But D'Herbelot in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, article Sihoun, observes, that very often *Turkistan* was confounded with *Mavarannahar*. Thus I may venture the hypothesis, that Ch'ang Te, who generally is not very happy in rendering foreign names with Chinese characters, by *Ma-a* intended *Mavarannahar*, a very difficult name indeed, for a Chinese tongue.

54. 以馬擇拖床遞鋪負重行疾或曰乞里乞西易馬以犬

This quite intelligible passage has been distorted by Rémusat in the following manner: (Pauthier gives about the same translation of it.) "On y fait usage de palanquins traînés par des chevaux, pour aller d'un lieu à un autre. Il y a des hommes qui marchent très vite avec des fardeaux très pèsans. On les appelle Kirgis; ils échangent des chevaux pour des chiens." Rémusat represents the Kirghiz as dwelling in the country through which Ch'ang Te passed, whilst this people, according to the Persian and Chinese authors, at the time of the Mongols, had their residence north and west of the lake Baikal. As is known, in the eastern part of Siberia, up to the present time dogs are often used like post-horses for sleighing.

55. 過亦堵兩山間 This passage may also be translated, "he passed between the two mountains of *Yi-tu*," and so Rémusat renders it. I cannot decide which rendering is to be preferred. Col. Yule (*Cathay etc.*, p. ccxiii) tries to identify *Yi-tu* with the *Alatagh* mountains. Ch'ang Te's way lay indeed, as we shall see, along the northern slope of the *Alatagh* chain (*Alatau* on the Russian maps), north of lake Issikul, and he may have crossed a branch of it. The name of the *Alatagh* mountains is met with several times in Rashid's history of the Mongols. Haithon reports, that between the river *Ilan sou* and *Talas* he crossed a branch of the *Thoros* mountains. (*Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, tom. xii, p. 283.) Taking into consideration the further accounts given in Ch'ang Te's itinerary, and especially that *Yi-tu* was at a distance of four days' journey from *Talas*, we must carry *Yi-tu* to the west as far as the western tributaries of the *Chu* river.

56. As regards the *K'i-tan* or *Karakitai* and their settlements near the *Chu* river, according to the Chinese authors, see Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, notes 83 and 151. Rubruquis, whose way lay further to the north, speaks also of the mountain pastures where the *Caracatai* formerly dwelt. There was a great river (the *Chu* according to Yule) which he crossed in a boat and then turned into a valley, where old intrenchments of earth were seen, over which the plough had passed.

57. 河東注 has been translated by Rémusat, "le fleuve coule de l'orient." The Chinese text means just the contrary, "the river runs to the east."

58. I do not think that the Chinese author intended in his mind the *Yellow river* of China.

On the 28th of the 2nd month Ch'ang Te passed 塔刺寺 *T'a-la-sze*,⁵⁹ and on the 1st of the 3rd month arrived at 賽藍 *Sai-lan*.⁶⁰ There is a tower (浮圖 *fou-t'u*)⁶¹ in which the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans) worship.

On the 3rd of the 3rd month he arrived at 別石蘭 *Bie-shi-lan*.⁶² There was at this place a fair of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans), just as we are accustomed to have at that time in our own country.⁶³

On the 4th day of the 3rd month Ch'ang Te crossed the river 忽率 *Hu-k'ien* (Sir-daria; see Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 87) in a boat, which resembled a Chinese lady's shoe.⁶⁴ The people said, that the sources of this river run out from a great mountain in the south.⁶⁵ This mountain, which produces abundance of jade (玉), is supposed to be the 崑崙 *K'un-lun* mountain.⁶⁶

Proceeding to the west, one frequently meets tortoises and snakes

Yule (l. c. p. cxxiii) thinks, that the name Yellow river used here, refers to the muddy colour of the water, and that the Chu river is known to carry muddy water and to run rapidly. Yule's view is supported by the fact, that *Chui* in the Djongar language means "muddy." At least the great geography of the Chinese empire gives this etymology of the name of the river Chui (the same as Chu). Compare also, Stan. Julien's *Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique*, p. 72. It seems however, that the river Ch'ang Te saw running to the east was not the Chu itself, but one of its western tributaries, perhaps the *Kurogaty* of Russian maps. See note 55.

59. It is not said whether the city or the river *Talas* is meant. Regarding the river *Talas*, see Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 78.

60. The city of *Sairam*. Compare Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 85.

61. Remusat and Pauthier translate the characters *fou-t'u*—which seem to render a Sanscrit word,—by "Buddha." I find indeed in K'anghi's dictionary, that *fou-ta* means "Buddha;" but there is also another meaning given, 寺塔 i. e. "a tower in a temple," and it seems to me more rational to translate, that the Mohammedans worship in a tower, than to say, as the French sinologues do, that the Mohammedans worship Buddha. The Chinese in Peking, by *fou-ta* always understand "a tower." The reader will remember, that in Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, a remarkable tower in *Sairam* is also noticed.

62. I am not aware what place is meant by *Bie-shi-lan*. In the books at my disposal I can not make out a city of similar-sounding name, mentioned by the Persian authors. The place must however have been situated near the present *Tashkend*, and its existence is corroborated by a statement in the biography of the general *K'uo Pao-yü*,—*Yüan shi*, book 149. There it is recorded, that this general, after having taken part in the expedition against the K'itan, and in the sacking of the *ordo* of *Ku-chu-ko* (the *ordo* of Goutchoulou, the gourkhan of the Karakitai, whose residence was near the river Chui), reduced *Bie-shi-lan* also, and then crossed the river 忽章 *Hu-ch'ang* (*Sir-daria*; see Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 87).

63. 回紇貿易上已節 My translation is a free one, but it renders the sense intended, I think. 上已節 is a Chinese holiday on the 3rd of the 3rd month, and a fair day. Ch'ang Te passed through *Bie-shi-lan* just on that day. Pauthier translates the three characters by, "comme il a été dit dans le paragraphe précédent." Remusat abstains from translating the phrase.

64. 弓鞋 *Kung hie* has been translated by Remusat and Pauthier by, "carquois (quiver);" but it means in Peking, shoes for the crippled small feet of Chinese ladies. Literally it signifies "a shoe resembling a bow."

65. 出南大山 Pauthier translates erroneously: "la source de ce fleuve sort au midi de grandes montagnes."

66. *K'un-lun* is the great mountain range, which separates Thibet from Turkistan. The sources of the *Sir-daria* are in the *T'ien shan* or "Celestial mountains."

crawling about together.⁶⁷ In this country are post-stations and inns with the appearance of bathing houses (probably caravanseries are meant). The doors and windows are provided with glass.⁶⁸

The people pay ten gold coins tax per head per annum as a maximum,⁶⁹ but a difference is made between the rich and the poor.

On the 8th of the 3rd month Ch'ang Te passed the city of 樽思干 *Sün-sze-kan*,⁷⁰ which is very large and populous. Just at that time (middle of April) a great many flowers were in bloom. Among the plants of that country, only the 末梨花 *mo-li-hua*, the 薔薇 *ts'iang-wei* and the 玫瑰 *mei-kui*⁷¹ are the same as in China. There are numerous other flowers, the names of which cannot be recollected. West of the city (of Samarcand) the people cultivate vines, the 粳稻 *king-tao*⁷² and wheat, which is sown in autumn (winter wheat).

The country produces many medicinal plants, all unknown in China, and very efficacious in curing diseases. There is the 阿兒只 *a-r-dji*, which resembles the 苦參 *k'u-shen*,⁷³ and cures the 馬鼠瘡 *ma-shu ch'uang* (literally—"scrofulous ulcers of horses"). It is also useful in cases of wounds and in the prevention of miscarriage. Taking a dose the size of a bean, and swallowing it, the patient will recover. The 阿息兒 *a-si-r* resembles the 地骨皮 *ti-ku-p'i*,⁷⁴ and is useful in cases of retained placenta. It is also employed in wounds inflicted by

67. This seems to be an absurd statement.

68. The Chinese never use glass for their windows but paper in the north especially; the so-called *Corean paper* is made from the bark of *broussonetia papyrifera*, which is very strong.

69. 民賦歲止輸金錢十文 *Rémusat* translates, "Les habitants paient le tribut à la fin de l'année. Les monnaies y sont d'or, avec la figure d'une croix." Pauthier has, "monnaies d'or de forme ronde avec dix lettres." Both are mistaken as regards the character 文, which may sometimes mean "letters," but in this case it is the numeraire for coins, and 十文 must be translated, "ten pieces of money." The Chinese author is exact in his statement. The reader will find in D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. iii, p. 127, the following account of this matter: "L'Empereur Mangou ordonna en 1251, qu'en Perse les moins imposés paieraient un *dinar*, et les plus imposés dix dinars par tête;" and in D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* p. 279: "*Dinar* se prend le plus souvent pour une pièce d'or du poids d'un methcal, c'est à dire d'un peu plus que notre écu d'or."

70. Regarding *Samarcand*, I beg the reader to refer to Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, notes 93 and 123.

71. *Mo-li-hua* is the *jasminum sambac* (*nulika* in Sanscrit). *Ts'iang-wei* is a fragrant rose. *Mei-kui* is also a rose.

72. *King-tao* is the common rice. The Chinese distinguish between this rice and the 糯 or glutinous rice, which, when boiled becomes glutinous. See my article *On the study and value of Chinese botanical works*, p. 8.

73. The *k'u-shen*, literally—"bitter ginseng," according to Tatarinow (*Catalogus medicamentorum sinensium*), is *robinia amara* Lour. It seems Tatarinow gives this identification only on the authority of Loureiro (see L.'s *Flora Cochinchinensis*), who describes the drug (root) as being very bitter. I do not believe that any botanist since Loureiro has seen the plant. According to the *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, book xiii. f. 32, the *k'u-shen* is a very common plant in China and of great renown. The drawing in the *Chi wu ming shi t'u k'ao*, a Chinese Botany, book viii, f. 5, represents under this name a plant with pinnate leaves.

74. *Ti-ku-p'i* is "cortex radicis *Lycii*," according to Tatarinow. The plant itself is called 枸杞 *kou-ki*. At Peking *Lycium sinense* Bge. is called *kou-ki*. A good drawing of the *kou-ki*, and resembling the Peking plant, is found in the *Chi wu ming shi t'u k'ao*, book xxxiii, f. 26.

sharp weapons (金瘡), when the pus is not discharged. Take this medicine, masticate it and rub it into the wound, when suppuration will appear. The 努哥撒兒 *nu-k'o-sa-r* resembles the 桔梗 *kie-keng*,⁷⁵ and cures wounds inflicted by sharp weapons; also rupture of the bowels and of the tendons. By rubbing this medicine after it has been masticated into the affected part, the divided portions will draw together. It is impossible to enumerate all the drugs there.⁷⁶

On the 14th of the 3rd month Ch'ang Te crossed the river 暗布 *An-bu* (Amu-daria. See Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, note 113). In this country it does not rain in summer;⁷⁷ but it rains in autumn and then the fields become moistened. There are swarms of locusts (蝗 *huang*) and flights of birds appear which eat them.⁷⁸

On the 19th day he passed the city of 里丑 *Li-ch'ou*.⁷⁹ Many mulberry trees and jujubes (*zizyphus*) grow there. There is the place, where at the time of the expedition to the west (it is not said whether Tchinguiz khan's expedition is meant or that of Houlagou) the army rested for some time.⁸⁰

On the 26th of the 3rd month Ch'ang Te passed through the city of 馬蘭 *Ma-lan*, and further on arrived at the city of 納商 *Na-shang*.⁸¹

75. *Kie-keng* is "*platycodon grandiflorum* A. Dec. (campanula)" according to Tatarinow, and Hoffmann and Shultes (*Noms indigènes d'un choix de plantes du Japon et de la Chine*). The drawing in the *Chi wu ming shi t'u k'ao*, book viii, f. 11, agrees with this identification. It is also the root of this plant which is used in medicine.

76. The Chinese author in comparing the medicinal plants of Samarcand with Chinese officinal plants, perhaps compares only the drugs (roots). I am not able to venture upon identifying these drugs, having no Persian pharmacopœa at my disposal. But it may be possible for savants versed in Persian materia-medica to recognize the names of the Persian drugs, described by the Chinese author.

77. This is a correct statement as to Persia and Transoxiana. In China on the contrary, it never rains in autumn or winter, but in the month of July very heavy rains are the rule.

78. The birds here mentioned belong to a species of starling, *pastor roseus*, which is a zealous exterminator of locusts; and in the countries visited by migratory locusts, these useful birds follow them in flocks of hundreds of thousands.

79. It is impossible to identify the places mentioned in Ch'ang Te's itinerary, after he crossed the Amu-daria. Judging from the description he gives of the country, there can be little doubt, that he followed the direct route to Houlagou, who was at that time in Tebriz or somewhere in Syria. Thus Ch'ang Te probably passed through *Merv*, *Nishapur*, *Rai* (near the present Teheran), etc. But the names of the places he mentions on his road through Khorassan, are so corrupted that it is difficult to identify them.

80. 征西奧魯屯駐於此 *Cheng se ao lu t'un chu yü tz'e*. Rémusat translates, "Ce fut là qu'on vainquit Ao-lou-thun (Ala-eddin). On s'y arrêta quelques jours." Pauthier explains that Ao-lou-th'un was a Mohammedan general in the Mongol army. I can find no corroboration of the views of the French sinologue in Chinese books, but I find in the dictionary accompanying the new edition of the *Yüan shi*, that *ao-lu*, a term occurring often in this work, is explained there by 軍府名, which may be translated by "head-quarters." *T'un chu* means, "to be encamped." The term *ao-lu* is the same as *ao-lu*, used in many Asiatic languages to designate an encampment of nomades. It has become also a Russian word. Ch'ang Te probably speaks of the place, where Houlagou spent several months with his army after having crossed the Amu-daria. See above.

81. Perhaps *Merou* (*Merv*) and *Nishapur* are meant. Both cities are repeatedly mentioned in the *Yüan shi* and written 馬魯 *Ma-lu* and 你沙不兒 *Ni-sha-bu-r*. On the ancient Chinese map *Merv* is marked 麻里兀 *Ma-li-wu*.

All the grass there is 苜蓿 *mu-su*.⁸² They plant cypresses for the purpose of fences.

On the 29th day he passed the city of 彌埽爾 *T'i-sao-r*.⁸³ The mountains there abound in a kind of salt, which resembles rock crystal (水晶 *shui tsing*).⁸⁴

At a distance of six or seven *li* to the south-west from this place is (the frontier of) the lately-conquered realm of the 木乃奚 *Mu-nai-hi*.⁸⁵ All the oxen there are black, and bear a hump on the neck.⁸⁶ The country is destitute of water; the people dig wells on the summits of the mountains, and conduct the water several tens of *li* down into the plain, with which to irrigate their fields.⁸⁷

This realm (of the Ismaëlians) had three hundred and sixty mountain fortresses, all which had been reduced. There was however west of 檣塞 *Tan-han* (may be read also *Yen-han*) a mountain fortress 乞都布孤 *Ki-du-bu-gu* (Guirdcouh), on a very steep rock, which could not be attained either by arrows or by stones (thrown by catapults). In the year 1256 the imperial army arrived at the foot of this fortress. The rock was so steep, that when one looked upwards his cap fell off. But as the army advanced simultaneously from all sides, the enemy was seized with terror. The 相臣 *siang-ch'en* (minister) 大赭納失兒 *Da-dje na-shi-r* was delegated to offer submission.⁸⁸ After this 兀

82. I am not aware where Rénusat's information is derived from, when translating *mu-su* by "millet." *Mu-su* means the "lucerne (*medicago sativa*)," even in our days the favorite fodder plant for horses and cattle in Persia. The *Pén ts'ao kang mu* states (book xxvii, f. 8) that this plant was first brought from the west to China, — where it is now much cultivated, — by the general *Chang Kien*, in the second century before our era. A good drawing of this plant is found in the Chinese Botany *Chi wu ming shi t'u k'ao*.

83. *T'i-sao-r*. The name may also be read *Hi-sao-r*. Perhaps *Sebzivar*, west of Nishapur. Rénusat and Pauthier were mistaken as regards the Chinese letters, and spell the name incorrectly, *Thai-fou-eu*.

84. Here doubtless rock-salt is meant. Conolly in his *Journey to the North of India overland*, etc. vol. i. p. 250, speaks of rock-salt mines near Nishapur.

85. 近西南六七里新得國名曰木刺奚 Rénusat translates, "Au sud-ouest, à 6 ou 7 li, on atteint le royaume de *Mou-la-hi*," Pauthier understands that the mountains with rock-salt were at a distance of 6 or 7 *li* from the place *T'i-sao-r*, and continues then: "On avait alors justement atteint le royaume que l'on appelait *Mou-naï-hi*."

But 新得國 can never mean, "we had just arrived at the country;" and can only be rendered by, "the newly-obtained (conquered) country." *Ch'ang Te* passed here in 1259, and as we have seen above from the Persian accounts, the *Mu-la-lida* or Ismaëlians had been exterminated at the end of the year 1257. In mentioning the frontier of the *Mu-la-hi* to the south-west of his road, our traveller speaks evidently of Couhistan; not of the dominions of the Ismaëlians in the Elburz mountains. We shall see further on, that he mentions Guirdcouh, which fortress was situated in Couhistan.

86. The author saw the hump-backed cattle (*bos indicus* or *zebu*) so common all over India and the whole of Persia. The zebu is mentioned much earlier in Chinese books. The History of the Posterior Han, in the beginning of our era, speaks of the 封牛 *feng niu*, hump-backed oxen as found in 條支 *Tiao-chi*, a far country in the west, which name has been identified by Klaproth with ancient Persia (Tadjiks).

87. This is still the custom all over Persia. The aqueducts are all subterraneous in order to prevent the evaporation of the water. As in Persia it never rains in summer, agriculture would be impossible there without this artificial irrigation.

88. Rénusat identifies *Da-dje na-shi-r* with the celebrated astronomer and minister *Nasser-*

魯兀乃算灘 *Wu-lu-wu-nai suan-t'an* surrendered. *Suan-t'an* means 國王 *kuo wang* (king).⁸⁹ His father with one part of the army maintained himself in the (other) mountain fortresses. Then the son received orders (from Houlagou) to take these fortresses and in seven days all surrendered.⁹⁰ The booty of gold, precious stones and other precious things was enormous. Among the spoil were girdles valued at a thousand silver *hu* each.⁹¹

[Let me quote for comparison, from the biography of the above-mentioned general *Kouo Khan*, the accounts given about the capture of the fortress of *Guirdcouh*.]

"Kouo Khan was ordered to take part in the expedition to the west, commanded by the prince *Hü-lie-wu* (Houlagou). In the year 1253 the army (i. e. the vanguard commanded by *Kitoubouca*) reached the realm of 木乃奚 *Mu-nai-hi*. The roads had been made impassable by the enemy, by means of trenches and walls; and the wells had been poisoned. But *Kouo Khan* defeated the army of the *Mu-nai-hi*, took a hundred and twenty-eight cities, and killed the commander 忽都答兒兀朱速檀 *Hu-du-da-r-wu-tju su-t'an*. In the year 1256 *Kouo Khan* arrived at 乞都卜 at *Ki-du-bu* (*Guirdcouh*). The fortress was situated on the top of the mount 檐塞 *Yen-han*. It was only accessible by suspended ladders, and these were guarded by the most valiant troops. *Kouo Khan* invested the place (according to the Persian authors, the Mongols built a wall all round), but it could not be taken. It was then battered by means of catapults (架砲), when the commandant 卜者納失兒 *Bu-tjo na-shi-r* surrendered. *Hü-lie-wu* sent *Kouo Khan* to 兀魯兀乃速檀 *Wu-lu-wu-nai su-t'an* to summon him to come and submit in person. His father 阿力 *A-li* maintained himself in the western fortress (or perhaps fortresses). *Kouo Khan* took it and then went to the eastern one (or ones), forced it (them) also and killed all the people."⁹²

The army of the *Mu-la-hi* consisted exclusively of *assassins*.⁹³ They were accustomed, when they saw a young man, to seduce him by holding

eddin of Thous. The Chinese author may have intended this high officer, but the Persian historians state that *Nasser-eddin* was not in *Guirdcouh* but with *Rokn-eddin* in *Meimoundiz*.

89. Evidently the chief of the *Isma'lians* is meant. His name was according to *Rashid*—*Rokn-eddin Kourshah*. This name is very difficult to render by Chinese letters.
90. We have seen in the accounts given by the Persian authors of the same events, that *Rokn-eddin* after having surrendered himself, gave orders to the commandants of the other fortresses to capitulate. But his father, mentioned by the Chinese author, was not alive at the time spoken of. He was slain at the end of 1255.
91. 一帶有直銀千笏者 *Rémusat* and *Panthier* translate, "Ily eut des soldats qui purent emporter dans leur ceinture ou leur sac jusqu'à mille plaques d'argent fin." But the Chinese author evidently speaks of the valuable girdles captured. Up to the present time the rich in Persia adorn their girdles with precious stones of great value.
92. Compare notes 88, 89 and 90. By *Ali*, evidently *Ala-eddin* the father of *Rokn-eddin* is meant. According to the Persian authors, he was dead at the time *Guirdcouh* was captured, but he was alive at the beginning of the siege. It is reported, that *Ala-eddin* had succeeded in sending reinforcements to the invested fortress *Guirdcouh*.
93. 刺客 *Tz'e-k'o*. The first character means "to stab," the second—"guest." Both in combination mean not a simple assassin, but an assassin sent by the orders of another to stab a man. Thus the Chinese *tz'e-k'o* would be more significant for designating the *Isma'lians*, than our "assassin." This Chinese expression would also invalidate the

out some advantage, and brought him to feel no repugnance to assassinate his father or brother. After this they enrolled him, and having been intoxicated by wine, he was carried into a cavern, and there diverted by music and fair damsels. During several days all his wishes were gratified. Finally he was carried again to the former place, and when he awoke they asked him what he had seen, and informed him, that if he would agree to become a *tz'e-k'o* (assassin), he would enjoy after death all that happiness by which he was surrounded. Then they gave him every day certain prayers and exorcisms to read. Finally (his heart became so captivated, that) he was not afraid to execute any commission, and accomplished it without fear of death. The Mu-la-hi sent their emissaries secretly to the countries which had not yet submitted, with orders to stab the rulers.⁹⁴ It was the same with regard to women (I understand they were also sent to assassinate). The realm of the Mu-la-hi was hated in the western countries. During forty years they had spread terror through the neighboring kingdoms; but when the imperial army arrived they were exterminated; not one escaped.⁹⁵

On the 6th of the 4th month Ch'ang Te passed the city of 訖立兒 *Gi-li-r*.⁹⁶ There the snakes all have four feet, and are five feet long. The head is black and the body yellow. The skin resembles the skin of the 鯊魚 *sha-yü* (shark). They eject from the mouth a handsome red substance (口吐紫艷).⁹⁷

[In Kouo Khan's biography it is stated] "In the first month of 1257 Kouo Khan reached 兀里兒 *Wu-li-r* (I suppose the same as the place *Gi-li-r* in Ch'ang Te's narrative). The enemy was enticed into an ambuscade and defeated. 海牙速檀 *Hai-ya su-t'an* (sultan Giath?) submitted."

Ch'ang Te passed the city of (or the city belonging to) 阿剌丁 *A-la-ding*, and 禡咱落兒 *Ma-tze-t'sang-r*.⁹⁸ There the people had their hair dishevelled, and wrapped their heads with a red turban. They were dressed in black clothes and thus resembled devils.

opinion of the great orientalist M. S. De Sacy, who states, that the name of assassins first given by the crusaders to the Isma'ilians, is erroneously believed to mean the French word "assassin." He tries to prove, that "assassin" is derived from the Persian word *hashish*, meaning an intoxicating beverage. (D'Olsson, l. c. tom. iii, p. 203.) Rémusat translates erroneously *tz'e-k'o* by "des véritables bandits;" and Pauthier, translating more correctly "hôtes assasiu," is mistaken in spelling the Chinese name *la-k'o* instead of *tz'e*. He confounded the character 刺 *tz'e* with the very similar-looking 刺 *la*, meaning "cruel."

94. 潛令使未服之國必刺其主 Pauthier translates this passage altogether unintelligibly as follows: "Les domestiques qui n'avaient pas encore été au service de cet Etat devaient d'abord poignarder leur maître."

95. 誅之無遺類 Literally: "exterminated;—no posterity left."

96. It is impossible to identify this place, but probably it was near the eastern border of Mazanderan.

97. It seems that by four-legged snakes simply lizards are meant; and I think the same large lizards mentioned in Ch'ang-ch'ün's narrative (note 117), a species of *stellio*.

98. The view taken by Pauthier, that by *A-la-ding* the city of Hamedan is to be understood is untenable. Perhaps by *Ma-tze-tsang-r* Mazanderan is meant. But in Kouo Khan's biography almost the same name is given to a sultan.

[Kouo Khan's biography states] "Proceeding further to the west, Kouo Khan reached the dominions of 阿剌汀 *A-la-ding*, and dispersed his army of thirty thousand men. 嗎揆答而速檀 *Ma-dsa-da-r su-t'an* surrendered." (There is evidently a confusion of the names).

[Henceforth Ch'ang Te's narrative loses the character of a diary. He says nothing more about the way followed further on, or about his mission to Houlagou. The last date he gives in his diary is the 6th of the 4th month (middle of April, 1259). His journey from *Caracorum* to *Gili-r* (which place I suppose to have been somewhere near Mazanderan) had taken three months and six days. Houlagou, as the Persian historians report, was at that time in *Tebritz*, where he had established his residence. It was only in September 1259 that he started for the expedition to Syria. The rest of the *Si shi ki* consists, as we shall see, in relating the military events before Ch'ang Te's arrival, in accounts of the newly-conquered countries in western Asia, their customs and products etc. Ch'ang Te seems to report only what he had heard. I beg to correct a former statement in the Introduction, that Ch'ang Te himself went to Bagdad. After a more attentive examination of the article I am convinced that there is no evidence to that effect; nor does he speak as an eye-witness. It is very unlikely that he was at Bagdad. At the end of the *Si shi ki* it is said, that he was absent fourteen months. His diary embraces only a period of three months; no indication is found in his narrative where he spent the rest of the time, and we know nothing about it from other sources. Let us see what the traveller further reports.]

Since the imperial (Mongol) armies had entered the *Si-yü* (the countries of the west) about thirty realms had been conquered.⁹⁹

There is a Buddhist kingdom (佛國 *Fo-kuo*) called 乞石迷 *Ki-shi-mi* (Cashmere) to the north-west of 印毒 *Hin-du* (Hindustan). There the clothes and the cup¹⁰⁰ of 釋迦 *Shi-kia* (*Sakiamuni* or *Buddha*), are handed down from generation to generation. The men in that country (the priests or monks) have a venerable and patriarchal appearance. They look like the paintings we see in China representing 達摩 *Ta-mo*.¹⁰¹ They (the religious) eat only lenten food.¹⁰² One

99. 王師 *Wang-shi* means "imperial army." Panthier always renders these two characters by "prince du sang" (he means Houlagou); Rémusat by "le général tartare." But there can be no doubt, that *wang-shi* has no other meaning than I have given. It will be easily understood, that the Chinese author, speaking of thirty realms conquered, dates from the time when Tchinguiz's armies first appeared in the west. Houlagou's armies never conquered thirty realms. I may also mention that "prince du sang" in the *Yüan shi* is always expressed by 宗王 *tsung wang*, or 諸王 *chu wang*, or 親王 *ts'in wang*.

100. 鉢 *po* "a cup," here the cup of a Buddhist monk, or *patra* in Sanscrit.

101. Rémusat explains in a note, that by *Ta-mo* is to be understood *Bodhidharma*, the last of the Buddhist patriarchs in Hindustan, the same who went to China and established there the doctrine of Buddha. *Ta-mo* went to China in the 6th century of our era. The French missionaries in former times, who wished at any cost to prove the early ex-

man consumes in a day one 合 *ho* of rice (one *ho* is as much as can be held with both hands placed together). They spend the whole day till late at night in religious exercises and contemplation.

The biography of Kouo Khan mentions also *Ki-shi-mi* (Cashmere) and a sultan 忽里 *Hu-li*, who surrendered to the Mongol arms.¹⁰³

In the year 1258¹⁰⁴ the kingdom of 報達 *Bao-da*¹⁰⁵ was taken. It stretches from north to south two thousand *li*. The king had the title of 哈里法 *ha-li-fa* (calif). The city (the capital) was divided into a western and an eastern part. A large river (the *Tigris*) run between them. The western city had no walls, but the eastern one was fortified, and the walls were built of large bricks. The upper part of the walls was of splendid construction.¹⁰⁵

When the imperial army arrived beneath the walls, the battle began and a great victory was gained over four hundred thousand men. At first the western city was taken and the population massacred; then the army continued besieging the eastern city. After six days¹⁰⁷ storming it was taken, and several tens of thousands were killed. The *ha-li-fa* tried to flee in a boat but was captured.¹⁰⁸

[In Kouo Khan's biography we find some additional details about the expedition to Bagdad.]

istence of Christianity in China, when they first met the name of *Tu-mo* in Chinese books, had no doubt that the apostle *Thomas* was meant, who thus had carried the Christian faith to China. I may observe here, that according to A. Palladius' learned investigations regarding the early traces of Christianity in China (*Russian Oriental Review*, tom. i), no reference can be found in Chinese works, pointing to the existence of the Christian religion in China earlier than the 7th century.

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102. 不茹葷酒 *Pu ju hun tsiu*.—*Hun* is, according to Wassilyeff's Chinese Dictionary "food not allowed in fasting," viz. garlic, onions, flesh and fish.
103. The country *Ki-shi-mi* here spoken of is doubtless Cashmere. It was known to the Chinese much earlier. The Buddhist priest *Hsuan-tsang*, in the middle of the 7th century, gives a detailed description of it. (Compare Stan. Julien's *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, tom. i, p. 167. *Kia-chi-mi-lo*.) Cashmere is also mentioned in the History of the T'ang (*T'ang-shu*, chap. 258*b*), and termed there 箇失密 *K'o-shi-mi*. Klaproth in his *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, tom. ii, pp. 211 seqq. has compared the Chinese statements regarding Cashmere with the respective Indian accounts. The Persian authors do not speak of a Mongol expedition undertaken against Cashmere. They mention only Mongol troops under the command of the *Noyen Sale*, which had been sent in 1263 to the frontier of India. (D'Obsson, tom. ii, p. 280.) The *Yüan shi* states under the same year, that the generals *Sa-li-tu-lu-hua* and *Ta-ta-r-dai* were sent to 欣都思 *Hin-du-sze* and 怯失迷兒 *Kie-shi-mi-r*.
104. Rémusat and Pauthier translate: 1257. The Chinese text has 丁巳 *ting-sze* which indeed, answers to the year 1257. But as the Chinese year began in February, the end of the year *ting-sze* was in January 1258, and just in January 1258 Bagdad was taken, according to the Persian authors. Therefore the Chinese date given for the capture of Bagdad is not in contradiction, with that given for the same event by Rashid, as it would appear from the translations of the French sinologues, who render *ting-sze* by 1257.
105. I may observe that Marco Polo terms Bagdad=*Baodas*.
106. 其上甚盛. Pauthier translates: "le somment est en parfait état de conservation." This description of Bagdad agrees perfectly with the statements of the Mohammedan authors. Ancient Bagdad was situated on the eastern border of the *Tigris* and was fortified, whilst the suburb *Karshi*, lying on the western border, had no walls.
107. The Persian authors also state, that Bagdad was taken after six days storming.
108. Rémusat and Pauthier both translate, that the calif escaped, but they have overlooked the character 獲 in their texts which means, that he was taken.

"*Bao-da* is a great kingdom in the west. It is eight thousand *li* in circumference. Between the two cities there runs a large river. At the time of the siege, Kouo Khan constructed floating bridges to intercept the retreat of the enemy on the river. After the city was taken the *ha-li-fa* tried to flee in a boat, but having seen that the river was barred, he went himself to the encampment (of the Mongols) and surrendered."

In the same biography a general of the *ha-li-fa*, by name 紂答兒 *Djou-da-r* is mentioned, who was pursued by Kouo Khan. In the evening the Mongol army was tired and wished to rest, but Kouo Khan did not permit this and so proceeded more than 10 *li* further on. In the same night there was a heavy rain, and the place at which they first wished to rest was inundated; the water there being several feet deep. On the next day *Djou-da-r* was captured and executed.¹⁰⁹ Kouo Khan took more than three hundred cities.

The kingdom of the *ha-li-fa* at that time, considering its wealth and its numerous population, stood at the head of all the realms in the *Si-yü* (western Asia). The palace of the *ha-li-fa* was built of fragrant and precious woods (enumerated in the text).¹¹⁰ The walls of it were constructed of black and white jade (黑白玉). It is impossible to imagine the quantity of gold and precious stones found there. The wives of the *ha-li-fa* were all from China.¹¹¹ There were large pearls called 太歲彈 *tai-sui-tan*,¹¹² 蘭石 *lan-shi*,¹¹³ 瑟瑟 *se-se*,¹¹⁴ 金剛鑽

109. It seems, that by *Djoudar* the minister and general of the calif, *Devatdar* is meant. The events however are confusedly reported.

110. 宮殿皆以沉檀烏木降真. Pauthier translates: "Le palais du khalife était entièrement construit en bois de santal et d'ébène, que l'on avait fait arriver par le fleuve." There are four precious woods enumerated in this passage.

1. 沉 *Ch'en*, properly 沉香 *ch'en-hiang* (*Pen ts'ao kang mu*, book xxxiv, f. 28) is aloë-wood. This fragrant wood, highly prized by orientals, is yielded by *aloeërylon agallochum*. It is very heavy; hence the Chinese name *ch'en*, which character properly means to sink under water, and has probably misled Pauthier to translate, that sandal and ebony were floated on the Tigris. In Peking the wood is generally called *ch'en-hiang* = "heavy fragrance." The *Pen ts'ao* states, that the Sanscrit name of it is 阿迦嚧 *á-gia-lu*. According to the *Amarakosha*, the Sanscrit name of aloë-wood is *agaru*. *Garu* = "heavy."

2. 檀 *T'an* or 檀香 *t'an-hiang* (*Pen ts'ao*, book xxxiv, f. 35) is sandalwood (*santalum album*). The *Pen ts'ao* renders the Sanscrit name of it, which is *djundana* by 旃檀 *djan-t'an*.

3. 烏木 *Wu-mu*, literally "black-wood" (*Pen ts'ao*, book xxxv, f. 76), is ebony, yielded by *diospyrus ebenum*. According to the *Pen ts'ao* this tree occurs also in the southern provinces of China.

4. 降真香 *Hiang-chen-hiang*. The *Pen ts'ao* describes it as a red fragrant wood brought to Chiffa from the Archipelago. Dr. S. W. Williams in his "Chinese Commercial Guide," mentions the same wood also under the name of "*laka* or *tanarius major*, a tree of Sumatra." Such a name is not found in modern botanical works.

In Kouo Khan's biography it is stated, that owing to the conflagration of the calif's palace, the air was impregnated with fragrance to a distance of a hundred *li*.

111. An absurd statement. Perhaps there is a break in the Chinese text or there are erroneous letters, but the passage 其妃后皆漢人 can only refer to the calif, and mean, that his wives were Chinese.

112. *T'ai-sui* means "the planet Jupiter," *tan* = "a globe." Chardin, the well-known French traveller who visited Persia in the 17th century, states (*Voyages en Perse*, tom. iii, p. 31) "Les Turcs et les Tartares appellent la perle *margeon*, mot qui signifie, 'globe de la lumière.'"

113. Regarding *lan-shi*, which is evidently a precious stone, see note 146 below.

kin-kang-tsuan,¹¹⁵ and many other precious things. Girdles were found, which might be estimated at a thousand *liang* of gold. (See note 91 above.)

The kingdom had endured more than six hundred years under forty rulers, down to the time of the (last) *ha-li-fa*, when it became extinct.¹¹⁶

The people were handsomer than in other countries. The horses bred there were called *t'o-bi-ch'a*.¹¹⁷

The *ha-li-fa* did not cheer himself up with wine. His beverage consisted of orange juice with sugar (*sherbet*, drunk up to this time by the Mussulmans).¹¹⁸

They had guitars with thirty-six strings. One time the *ha-li-fa* had head-ache and when his physicians could not help him, a man was sent for, who played on a guitar of a new invention with seventy-two strings. The head-ache of the *ha-li-fa* ceased immediately after he had heard this music.

The *ha-li-fa* was venerated as a patriarch (祖 properly ancestor) by all the people of western Asia¹¹⁹ who were subject to him.

To the west of Baoda, twenty days journey on horseback, is *T'ien-fang*,¹²⁰ and in it the divine envoy of Heaven (天使神), the patriarch of the western people (胡之祖) is buried. The name of this sage (師) was 癖顏八兒 *Pei-yen-ba-r*.¹²¹ In the interior of the temple, there is an iron chain. When trying to grasp it, only the true believers (誠) will succeed. The unbelievers will never catch it. The people of this country have many sacred books, written by the *pei-yen-ba-r*. The people are wealthy. There are more than twenty cities.¹²²

114. *Se-se* is not as Pauthier translates, a musical instrument. In Kanghi's Dictionary it is stated, that *se-se* is a kind of pearl. The *Pen ts'ao* (book viii, f. 55) mentions it among the precious stones, 寶石 *pao-shi*, which are produced in the countries of the Hui-hui (Mohammedans). That of a blue colour (碧) was called at the time of the T'ang dynasty *se-se*.

115. *Kin-kang-tsuan* is the common name for *diamond*, and not as Pauthier suggests an instrument for boring diamonds.

116. According to the Mohammedan annals, the califate of Bagdad endured six hundred and twenty-six years, A. D. 632—1258, under fifty-one califs.

117. 馬名脫必察 I am not aware what word is intended by *t'o-bi-ch'a*; evidently a foreign word is rendered by the Chinese characters. Pauthier does not hesitate in translating *t'o-bi-ch'a* by "excellent," but he does not inform us in what language this word means "excellent."

118. 哈里法不悅酒以橙漿和糖爲飲. Pauthier translates: "Le khalife s'en souciait peu [i.e. des chevaux]. Leur boisson est extraite d'une espèce d'orange rafraichissante qu'ils melangent avec du sucre."

119. 胡 *Hu* means *foreigner* with regard to China, and especially the people of western Asia and India are termed so; but Pauthier should not have translated: "à Pao-ta était le patriarche de tous les étrangers; c'est pourquoi tous ces étrangers étaient ses serviteurs." That sounds like a foreign legion in the calif's service.

120. *T'ien-fang* (heavenly house) seems to refer to the great mosque of Mecca, which encloses the holy *kaaba*. Burckhardt in his "*Travels in Arabia etc.*" p. 134, calls this great mosque *Beitullah* or "house of God."

121. *Pei-yen-ba-r* renders very exactly the Persian *peighember*, meaning "prophet."

122. The Chinese author seems to apply the name of *T'ien-fang* to the whole of Arabia.

[In Kouo Khan's biography it is stated] "To the west of Baoda, at a distance of three thousand *li* there is 天房 *T'ien-fang*.¹²³ The general 住石 *Dju-shi* there sent a letter (to Houlagou), in which he begged to offer his submission. All believed that Dju-shi's intention was sincere. His offer was accepted and no precautionary measures were taken. But Kouo Khan made the following objection: 'Do not forget, that treason on the part of the enemy can put our army in danger. In time of war all is deceit. We must take precautions; otherwise we risk bringing shame upon ourselves.' Precautions were accordingly taken, and indeed Dju-shi came to attack our army; but he was defeated by Kouo Khan. 巴兒算灘 *Ba-r suan-t'an* (sultan *Bar*) surrendered."¹²⁴

To the west of *T'ien-fang* is the kingdom of 密昔兒 *Mi-si-r*,¹²⁵ a very rich country. There is gold in the ground. In the night at some places a brightness can be seen. The people mark it with a feather and charcoal. When digging in the day-time, pieces as large as a jujube are brought to light.¹²⁶ *Mi-si-r* is six thousand *li* distant from Baoda.

In the biography of Kouo Khan it is stated, that *Mi-si-r* is forty *li* (probably a misprint)* distant from *T'ien-fang* and west of it. Its ruler is called sultan 可乃 *K'o-nai*.¹²⁷

West of *Mi-si-r* is the sea, and west of the sea is the kingdom of 富浪 *Fu-lang*. The covering of the head for women there resembles much what we see in our paintings representing the 菩薩 *P'u-sa*.¹²⁸

Another Chinese traveller of the Mongol time, 汪大淵 *Wang Ta-yüan*, who visited by sea many foreign countries, in his work 島夷志略 *Tao yi chi liao*, published in 1350, calls Arabia 天堂 *T'ien-t'ang* or "heavenly hall." In the History of the Ming dynasty, 1368-1644, chap. 332, this name is written 天方 *T'ien-fang*, and there is met with also the name 默伽 *Mo-kia* (Mecca). I may observe, that the Arabs have been well known to the Chinese since the 7th century, under the name of 大食 *Ta-shi*. See my pamphlet on the intercourse between the Chinese and the Arabs, published in 1871.

123. The first character, in the *Yüan shi*, is written 大 *ta*, but that is evidently a mistake caused by the omission of a stroke.

124. It is difficult to make these confused statements consistent with any of the military expeditions of the Mongols, as reported by the Mohammedan writers. Perhaps the war against *Nassir Sulah-eddin Youssouf* in Syria is intended. Vassaf gives the text of two long letters *Nassir* exchanged with Houlagou before the hostilities began. (D'Ohsson, l.c. tom. iii, p. 294.) Sultan *Ba-r* is perhaps the emir *Beibars*, who commanded the Egyptian army, which entered Syria in 1260.

125. *Mi-si-r* means Egypt, the *Mizraim* of the Bible, called *Mazz* by the Arabs.

126. This sounds like the story reported by Strabo, book xvi, p. 198, who states, "The topazion found on the island of Ophiodes near Egypt, is a gold-coloured (*χρυσσοειδής*) diaphanous stone, which is of such a brightness, that it cannot be seen in the day-time. It is only in the night that the gatherer can see it. According to Keferstein (*Mineralogia polyglotta*), the topazion of Strabo is not what we call topaz, but the *chlorophan*, a kind of fluor spar, which has the property of emitting a phosphoric light in the darkness. The Chinese author in stating the same about gold, has probably misunderstood the story he heard about shining stones.

127. The second character is perhaps a misprint, and is to be read 朵 *to*. Then the name of the sultan would be *K'o-to*, and could be identified with sultan *Coutlouz*, who at that time reigned in Egypt.

128. *P'u-sa* (Bodhisatva in Sanscrit) is one of the Buddhist saints, next Buddha most venerated, for his love and protection of living beings. His idol is represented in almost every Buddhist temple, often in the form of a female, and with curious ornaments, especially on the head.

* See note E.

The men are dressed according to the customs of the *hu* (western barbarians) and are of good character.¹²⁹ When they go to bed, they do not take off their clothes. Husband and wife live separately.

[The biography of Kouo Khan states] "In the year 1258 (or beginning of 1259) the prince Hū-lie-wu (Houlagou) ordered Kouo Khan to cross the sea on the west and subdue *Fu-lang*. He summoned the ruler to surrender.¹³⁰ 兀都 *Wu-du sultan* said: 'Last night I dreamed of a divine man. Now I see this divine man is the general;' and he surrendered immediately. After this the imperial army returned."¹³¹

There is (in western Asia) a large bird, above ten feet high, with feet like a camel, and of a bluish gray colour (蒼). When it runs it

129. 男子胡服皆好善 Pauthier translates: "les hommes de ce pays, qui servent dans les armées étrangères, sont très-braves." Rémusat has: "Les hommes sont bons guerriers."

130. 諭以禍福 literally "he announced to him fortune or misfortune." Pauthier misunderstood this phrase, and took it for the name of the ruler.

131. By *Fu-lang* doubtless the *Franks* (Europeans) are meant. The mediæval traveller Marignolli states (Yule's *Cathay*, p. 336), "They term us Franks, not from France but from Frankland." Compare also Pegoletti's notices on the land route to Cathay (Yule l.c. p. 292): "They call *Franks*, all the Christians of these parts from Romania (Greece according to Yule) westward." Europe, and especially the Roman empire, known to the Chinese since the beginning of our era, was first called 大秦 *Ta-ts'in* (the great *Ts'in*) in the Chinese annals. No plausible explanation can be given about the origin of this name. In the Annals of the T'ang, 618-907, we are told, that the country formerly called *Ta-ts'in* has in later days been called 拂菻 *Fu-lin*, and a French orientalist has suggested (*Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, tom. ix, p. 458), that the name *Fu-lin* is probably derived from the Greek *πολις*, used in ancient times to designate Constantinople. Indeed *Masudi* (in the 9th century) informs us, that the Greeks never called their city Constantinia but *Bolin* (Yule's *Cathay*, p. 402, note). But some arguments can also be produced in favor of another etymology of the name *Fu-lin*. The German tribe of the *Franks*, which name appears first in history in the 3rd century of our era, dwelt first on the lower Rhine, and afterwards gave rise to that powerful Franconian empire, which under Charles the Great embraced a great part of Europe, and with which the history of France and Germany begins. The oriental name of *Ferenghî*, although applied by the Mohammedans to all Europeans, and which now (in Persia at least) has the meaning of "foreign," originated doubtless from our *Franks*. Perhaps the characters 拂菻 were also intended to designate the word *Franks*, for in the 一切經音義 *Yi ts'ie king yin yi* (an explanation of foreign terms found in the works translated from the Sanscrit, with an examination of the correct sounds: see Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 169) published in the middle of the 7th century, it is stated, that the correct pronunciation of the two characters is not *fu-lin* but *fu-lan*, which approximates to the sound *fu-lang*, by which name the author of the *Si shi ki* designates the *Franks*. The Chinese statement, that a Mongol general should have crossed the sea and summoned the king of the *Franks* is absurd. It is however a fact, that the Mongols had some differences with the *Franks* established at Sidon, and Rashid reports that Houlagou gave orders to expel the *Franks* from Syria. (Compare Pauthier's *Marco Polo*, p. cxxxii.) Besides the story reported in the biography of Kouo Khan about the *Fu-lang* or *Franks*, they are mentioned a second time in the *Yüan shi*, in the annals under the year 1341 or 1342, chap.

40, reign of Shun-ti. It is stated there, that the kingdom of 佛郎 *Fo-lang* sent as tribute, a beautiful black horse, about 11 Chinese feet long and 6 feet, 8 inches high. It was black all over, except the hind feet, which were white. Pauthier, does not hesitate to state, that by *Fo-lang* France is meant, and that there can be no doubt, that Philip VI of France offered this horse to the Chinese emperor. Gaubil also translates *Fo-lang* by France. But Col. Yule (*Cathay*, p. 340) has produced evidence that the horse spoken of was brought by Marignolli, who in his narrative of travels states, that he arrived at Peking in 1342 and brought large horses for the Khan. It is only once, that the ancient name of 拂菻 *Fu-lan* occurs in the *Yüan shi*. In the biography of 愛薛 *Ai-sie* (perhaps Joshua, or Joseph), *Yüan shi*, chap. 134, it is stated that his native country was *Fu-lan*, that he was well versed in all languages of the west, and also in astronomy and

flaps the wings. It eats fire; and its eggs are the size of a 升 *sheng* (a certain measure for grain).¹³²

medicine. He served at first Conyunc khan. Coublai khan entrusted him in 1263 with the direction of the astronomical and medical Boards of the *Si-yü* (Persia), etc. Afterwards he received the title of *Kü-lan wang* (prince of Frankland). His sons and grandsons, as mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, have all names which sound like European names,—*Ye-li-ya* (Elias), *Lu-ko* (Luke), *An-tun* (Autony). One of his daughters was called *A-na-si-mu-sze*. I may finally mention, that in the History of the Ming dynasty, 1368–1644 the Franks are termed 佛郎機 *Fo-lan-gi*; but we must not be astonished, when we find in the *Ming shi* (chap. 325) a statement, that the country of the *Fo-lan-gi* is near *Man-la-kia* (Malacca). They meant evidently the Portuguese, who in the beginning of the 16th century had conquered Malacca and settled there, and in 1517 made their first appearance at Canton. Compare Mr. W. F. Meyers able essay “On the introduction and use of gunpowder and fire-arms among the Chinese,” in the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1871.

132. The large bird with camel's feet is the ostrich, in Persian *shutur-murg* (camel-bird). The Chinese author states, “when it runs it flaps the wings;” which is quite correct. As is known, the ostrich, notwithstanding its wings being well-developed, is not able to fly, but when running rapidly it always extends its wings. It seems to me, that this fact is also alluded to in Holy Scripture, Job, xxxix: 18. The English translation of this passage runs: “What time she lifteth up herself on high, she scorneth the horse and his rider.” By *lift up on high*, I think, the translator could only mean to *soar up*. Having no knowledge of Hebrew I am not able to discuss the correctness of this translation, but I am inclined to suppose, that the Hebrew text has not the meaning suggested by the English translator, all the more as the Russian translation of the same passage means,—*when she lifts up her wings*. How should the Jews, who knew the ostrich very well (correct accounts are given in the Bible regarding its habits), have overlooked the fact, that it is not fitted for flying? Having requested my learned friend Mr. Schereschewsky to give me his opinion on the translation of the passage in question, he has kindly replied in the following terms. “You are quite right. The English version is wrong in its rendering of the passage in Job, xxxiv: 18. The original does not mean, ‘What time she,’—namely the ostrich, which is in the feminine gender in the Hebrew,—‘lifteth herself on high;’ but it ought to be rendered, ‘What time she makes,’—viz., *the wings*, which word is implied but not expressed in the Hebrew,—‘to float on high,’ i. e. to flap the wings in the way ostriches do when they run. The original Hebrew is כַּעַת בְּמִרוֹם תַּמְרִי *kaeth bannaron tamri*, ‘at what time on high she makes to float,’—i. e. *the wings*. The last word ‘*tamri*’ is third person feminine future, in the hiphil or causative form of the verb מָרָא *mara*, which means ‘to fly, to hover, to soar.’ To render *tamri* in the neuter or the reflexive, as the English version *does*, is *grammatically* incorrect. The hiphil is never used as a reflexive; it always requires an object either expressed or implied. The object in the present case is *wings*, which is plainly implied; as the word *wings* is found a few verses above. The rendering of the Vulgate (St Jerome's Latin version), gives nearly the same sense, ‘Cum tempus fuerit in altum alas erigit.’ The ostrich, although a bird found only in the deserts of Africa and western Asia, was known to the Chinese in early times, since their first intercourse with the countries of the far west. In the “History of the Anterior Han” (*Ts'ien Han shu*, chap. 96, article *An-si*) it is stated, that the emperor Wu-ti, B. C. 140–86 first sent an embassy to 安息 *An-si*, a country in western Asia, which according to the description given of it, can only be identified with ancient Parthia, the empire of the dynasty of the Arsacides. In this country a large bird, from eight to nine feet high is found, the feet, the breast and the neck of which make it resemble the camel. It eats barley. The name of this bird is 大馬騮 *ta-ma-liao*, which means in Chinese the “bird of the great horse.” The character *liao* now means a “vase used in sacrifices,” but its original meaning was a “kind of bird of prey” (see *Kanghi's Dictionary*). It is further stated, that afterwards the ruler of *An-si* sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor, and brought as a present the eggs of this large bird. In the “History of the Posterior Han” (*Hou Han shu*, chap. 118), an embassy from *An-si* is mentioned again in A. D. 101. They brought as presents a lion and a large bird. In the “History of the Wei dynasty,” 386–558, where for the first time the name of 波斯 *Po-sze* occurs used to designate “Persia,” it is stated, that in that country there is a large bird resembling a camel and laying eggs of large size. It has wings but cannot fly far. It eats grass and flesh, and also swallows men. In the “History of the T'ang dynasty,” 618–907, the camel-bird is again mentioned as a bird of Persia; and besides this, a statement is found there, that the ruler of 吐火羅 *T'u-*

There is a kingdom 石羅子 *Shi lo-tze* (Shiraz), which produces pearls. The name of the ruler is 澳思阿塔卑 *Ao-sze a-t'a-bei*. To the south-west is the sea (Persian gulf). The men who are engaged in pearl-fishing get into a leather bag, having only their hands free. A rope is attached to their loins and thus they glide down to the bottom of the sea. They take the pearl-oysters together with sand and mud, and put them in the bag. Sometimes they are attacked there below by sea monsters; when they squirt vinegar against them and drive them away. When the bag has been filled up with oysters, they inform the men above by pulling the rope, and are then hoisted up. Sometimes it happens that the pearl-fishers die (in the sea).

[The biography of Kouo Khan states regarding the same kingdom *Shi-lo-tze*] "The imperial army (after having returned from Egypt and Syria)

huo-lo (a country generally identified with *Tokharestan*) sent a camel-bird as a present to the Chinese emperor. The Chinese materia medica *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, written at the end of the 16th century, gives (chap. 49) a good description of the ostrich, compiled from ancient authors. It is said amongst other things, to eat copper, iron, stones, etc. and to have only two claws on his feet. Its legs are so strong, that it can dangerously wound a man by jerking. It can run three hundred *li* a day. Its native countries are 阿丹 *A-dan* (*Aden*) and 竹步 *Dju-bu* (*Djubo* on the African coast). A rude but tolerably exact drawing of the camel-bird in the *Pen ts'ao* proves, that the ostrich was well known to the Chinese in ancient times, and that they paid great attention to it. Our traveller Ch'ang T'e does not speak clearly, where in his time the ostrich was found in western Asia. He mentions it



after having spoken of the Franks. In the "History of the Ming dynasty" (*Ming shi*, chap. 326), the country of 忽魯謨斯 *Hu-lu-mo-sze* (Hormuz on the Persian gulf) is mentioned as producing ostriches. Let us see what western authors state about the existence of ostriches in western Asia. In a learned article on the geographical distribution of the ostrich, by the well-known ornithologists *Hartlaub* and *Finch* (see *Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil.*, vol. xvi, p. 380), it is stated, that in recent books of ornithology, the ostrich is always spoken of only as a bird of Africa, whilst Xenophon saw it on the borders of the Euphrates; and ancient Persian authors as well as Chinese mention it as a Persian bird, occurring even in the eastern part of Persia. The inquiries made on this subject by modern travellers has led to the interesting conclusion, that up to the present time ostriches are met with, although not frequently, in the countries of western Asia, assigned to them by the Chinese authors. The Prussian consul at Damascus states, that every year about five hundred ostriches are killed in the deserts near that place. The well-known traveller Mr. Varnbery informed the authors of the above-mentioned article, that ostriches are well known in Kerman, and that they are even occasionally killed on the lower Oxus, near Kungrat.

The name of the ostrich is written 駝鳥 in *Ming shi* BAK. 326.

went to the south-west (it is not clear from what place; probably there is a mistake, and it should be read—'to the south-east'), to the kingdom of *Shi-lo-tze*. The enemy's troops presented battle, but were defeated at the first attack. The Sultan 換四千阿塔卑 *Huan-sze-gan a-t'a-bei* surrendered."¹³³

The country of 印毒 *Yin-du* (Hindustan) (amongst the enumerated kingdoms) is the nearest to China. The population of it is estimated at twelve millions of families. There are famous medicines, great walnuts, precious stones, 鷄舌 *ki-she*,¹³⁴ 寶鐵 *pin-t'ie*¹³⁵ and other products. In this kingdom there are large bells suspended near the palace of the ruler. People who have to prefer a complaint strike against the bell. Then their names are registrated and their cause is investigated. The houses are made of reeds. As it is very hot there in summer, people pass the whole time in the water.

The biographer of Kouo Khan seems to have been mistaken in speaking, next after having mentioned Shiraz, of a country 寶鐵 *Pin-t'ie*, which as we have seen, in the *Si shi ki* is enumerated amongst the products of Hindustan. In this biography it is clearly said, that the imperial army reached Pin-t'ie. Kouo Khan defeated the enemy and the sultan 加葉 *Gia-ye* surrendered.

133. The *Shi-lo-tze* of the Chinese authors is *Shiraz*. On my ancient Chinese map the name is written 設刺子 *She-la-tze*. I may observe, that Marco Polo calls this place *Serazy*. What the Chinese author records about pearl-fishing is quite exact, and sounds in some parts like a translation made from the statements given by the Arabian geographer *Edrisi*, about pearl-fishing near Baharain (see *Edrisi*, traduit par Jaubert, tom. i, pp. 373-377). *Baharain* was, according to D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* p. 158, in ancient times the name of a province of Arabia, stretching along the western shore of the Persian gulf, and famed for the pearl-fishing on its coast. On modern maps I find only the island of Baharain marked, well known also in our days for the pearl-oyster beds in its neighborhood, largely worked by the proprietors. (Compare Bremner's *Report*, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil.* 1873, p. 87.) Baharain is also marked in its proper place on the ancient Chinese map, and the name is rendered there by the characters 八哈刺因 *Ba-ha-la-yin*. At the time the Mongol armies invaded western Asia, *Shiraz*, or rather *Fars*, of which Shiraz was the capital, formed a little realm governed by *atabeys* (ancient governors of the Seldjoucs, who had become independent, were designated by this name). The Chinese characters *a-ta-bei* are doubtless intended for this name. When the Mongol armies appeared in Persia, the *atabey* of Fars had spontaneously rendered homage to the conqueror, and he was not troubled in his possessions. But after the conquest of the califate, disorders took place in Fars, and Houlagou then sent a division to Shiraz to punish the *atabey* Seldjouc Shah. (See D'Ohsson l. c. tom. iii, pp. 400 seqq.). I cannot identify the names of the *atabey* as given by the Chinese authors.

134. *Ki-she-hiang* (chicken tongue fragrance) is according to the *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (book xxxiv, f. 30), a synonym of 丁香 *ting-hiang* (nail fragrance), which is the common name for *cloves* (the dried aromatic flower buds of *caryophyllus aromaticus*). Judging from the authors quoted in the *Pen ts'ao*, as mentioning cloves, this spice seems not to have been known in China before the 6th century.

135. *Pin-t'ie* is, as the *Pen ts'ao kang mu* explains (book viii, p. 36, article *t'ie*, "iron"), a very valuable steel, brought from *Po-sze* (Persia). It is said to cut gold and jade. There were many places besides Damascus famed in western Asia for their steel blades, etc., for instance Meshed and Ispahan. The Indian steel is also very valuable. A Chinese author however of the 10th century identifies the *pin-t'ie* with 喫鐵石 *ch'i-t'ie-shi* (stone, which eats iron), which latter Stan. Julien states correctly (*Mél. de Geogr. Asiat.* p. 91) to be the magnet. In the *Pen ts'ao*, book x, f. 2, the magnetic iron ore is also termed 慈石 *ts'e-shi* (stone with affection), and 吸鐵石 *si-chen-shi* (stone attracting the needle). It is found in many provinces of China.

In the 7th month of 1259 the sultan 阿早 *A-dsao* of the kingdom 兀林 *Wu-lin* came to offer his submission. He surrendered a hundred and twenty large and small cities with seventeen hundred thousand families. In the mountains there, much silver is found.

[The biographer of Kouo Khan states regarding the same subject as follows.] In the year 1259, the scattered army of the kingdom of 兀林 *Wu-lin*, amounting to forty thousand warriors, was defeated. The sultan 阿別丁 *A-bie-ding* surrendered, and a hundred and twenty-four cities were captured.¹³⁶

The kingdom of the 黑契丹 *Hei K'i-tan* (Black K'itan) is called 乞里曼 *K'i-li-man* (Kerman; the third character must be read 蠻 *man*, I think). The name of the ruler is sultan 忽都馬丁 *Hu-kiao-ma-ding*. Having heard of the glory of the prince (Houlagou), he came to submit. He has a great city 拔里寺 *Ba-li-sze*.¹³⁷

The biography of Kouo Khan speaks also of Kerman and states that *K'i-li-man* is south of *Wu-lin*. The ruler is called 忽都馬丁 *Hu-du-ma-ding*. After this in the biography it is said, that the Si-yü was subdued and Kouo Khan went home to the emperor Mangou, arriving there a short time before the latter died. (Mangou khan died in August, 1259.)

[Here Ch'ang Te finishes his enumeration of the different countries which had recently been invaded by the Mongol armies. The remainder of his report contains only the mention of beasts, plants, precious stones, and other products found in western countries. He adds various miraculous tales, which at that time may have circulated among the Persians.]

The 獅子 *Shi-tze* (lion).¹³⁸ The mane and the tail of the male

136. It is difficult to say what country is meant by *Wu-lin*, and what sultan by *A-dsao* or *A-bie-ding*. These names cannot be identified with any name of countries or princes mentioned by the Persian authors.

137. The Chinese authors evidently speak of *Kerman*, which is up to this day, the name of a city and a province in southern Persia. The Chinese author is right in calling Kerman the kingdom of the *Black K'itan* (Carakitai). *Cara* means "black" in Mongol as well as in Turkish. The name of Carakitai used by the Persian historians therefore is not a Persian name. In a previous note (see Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, note 83), I have spoken of this dynasty originating in eastern Asia, and reigning in central and western Asia nearly a century, until it was overthrown by Tchinguiz khan in 1218. After Tchinguiz had left western Asia, *Borac Hadjib*, at first an officer of the khan of Carakitai, afterwards entering the service of the sultan of Khovaresm, had succeeded in establishing himself in Kerman, and founded a dynasty, which maintained itself there until 1309. This is the dynasty of the Carakitai in Kerman, spoken of by the Chinese author. The city of *Ba-la-sze* mentioned there, seems to be the city of *Darsis*, which is quoted in D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* p. 175, as a city of Kerman, or perhaps *Berdardshir* or *Cousashir*, which D'Herbelot states to have been the ancient capital of Kerman. D'Olsson (l. c. tom. iii, p. 6) spells the name *Kevashir*. On the ancient Chinese map there is a place 泄刺失 *Sie-la-shi* marked, east of Shiraz, which by its position might be identified with Kevashir or Kerman. The sultan *Hu-du-ma-ding* of the Chinese author seems to be *Kab-eddin*, who reigned about that time in Kerman. But he is stated by D'Ohsson to have died in 1258.

138. The proper name of the lion in Chinese is 獅 *shi*, and so it is called in the *Pen ts'ao*. The character 子 *ze* properly meaning "son," in the popular spoken language is often appended to words, without having any signification. The lion, although an inhabitant only of Africa and western Asia, was known to the Chinese in early times. It seems,

lion are like tassels. By a blow with the tail it can seriously hurt men. When it roars the sound comes out from the belly. The horses hearing the roar are seized with great terror and urinate blood.

that this animal is first mentioned in Chinese books in the second century before our era. In the "History of the Anterior Han" (*Ts'ien han shu*, chap. 961), it is stated, that in the kingdom of 烏戈山離 *Wu-ko-shan-li* the animal 師 *shi* is found. The description given of this country points evidently to some part of Persia. All accounts regarding countries in western Asia, as found in the *Ts'ien han shu*, seem to have been gathered by the general Chang Kien, who went there about B. C. 120. The character 師 *shi* properly means "master." There is some probability for the view, that this character was first intended to render the Persian name of the lion, which is *shir*. The "History of the Posterior Han" (*Hou han shu*, chap. 118) reports, that in the year A. D. 87, the ruler of *An-si* (ancient Parthia) sent a *shi*, or "lion," and an ostrich as presents to the emperor of China. In the year 101 another lion was sent from there to China. In the "History of the Northern Wei," 386-558, where Persia is first described under the name of *Po-sze*, lions are mentioned as beasts of that country, and the "History of the T'ang" speaks of a lion sent by the ruler of the country of 康 *K'ang* (which is generally believed to answer to the present Samarcand), to the emperor of China, in the 7th century. Up to that time the lion in Chinese books was not designated by a distinct character as now, but always by 師 *shi*, meaning properly "master." As may be found in Kanghi's Dictionary, the character 獅 *shi* for "lion" was invented about A. D. 600, for it appears first in the Chinese dictionary *T'ang yün*. At the time of the Ming dynasty in the 15th century, lions were repeatedly carried from western Asia to China. Detailed accounts of this subject may be found in the *Ming shi*, chap. 882, art. *Sam-ar-han* (Samarcand). It is stated there, that in 1475 the *so-lu-t'an* (sultan) *A-kei-ma* of Samarcand (it seems *Mirza Ahmed*, the son of *Abusaid*, and the great-grandson of Tamerlane is meant), together with the ruler of *Yi-sze-pa-han* (Ispahan), sent two lions as a present to the Chinese court. When the ambassadors arrived at *Su-chou* in the present province of Kan-su (the great highway from western Asia to Peking at that time, still led through this place, as at the time of Marco Polo), they requested high officers from the Chinese court to be sent to meet them, and to receive the lions. This subject was discussed in the council of Chinese ministers, and from different sides it was objected, that lions are useless beasts; they cannot be employed in sacrifice, they are also unfit to be yoked to a cart; therefore they should be refused. But the emperor ordered an eunuch to be sent to receive the lions. The food of the lions consisted in two living sheep, two jars of 醋飮 *ts'u-yü* (a kind of sour soup) and two jars of milk with honey, every day. The objections made in the council of ministers against lions, were not in harmony with the popularity this animal enjoys in China even in our days, where the Chinese know the lion only from ancient paintings, or from the grotesque ancient marble lions guarding the entrances of the palaces of princes or their cemeteries. *Li Shi-chen*, the author of the repeatedly-quoted *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, who wrote in the second half of the 16th century, gives (book xli, f. 1) some interesting accounts regarding this animal, which prove, that the lion has made the same lofty impression upon the Chinese as upon western nations, who in their popular traditions always consider the lion as the king of animals. *Li Shi-chen* in explaining the Chinese name of the lion, suggests that it was called *shi* (master) as being the king of animals (百獸長). (This etymology does not invalidate my view, that *shi* originally intended the Persian *shir*). He terms the Sanscrit (梵) name 僧伽 *seng-kiu* (the Sanscrit name of the lion is *singha*). He states further: "The lion is found in all countries of western Asia. It resembles the tiger, but is smaller. The colour of its skin is yellow or like gold. The head is large and like copper, the forehead is like iron, the claws are like iron hooks, the teeth like a saw, the ears are pointed, the nose is turned up, the eyes shine like lightning, the roar resembles thunder. When the lion is enraged it is imposing by its teeth; when it is cheerful, it is imposing by its tail. The tail of the male lion has at its end a large tuft of hair. The face is provided with whiskers. When the lion roars, all other beasts flee away, and the horses urinate blood."

A good drawing of the lion is found in the ancient dictionary 爾雅 *Rh ya*. The commentator of this dictionary who wrote in the 4th century, tries to identify the lion (*shi*) with a beast 狻猊 *su-an-ni* mentioned in ancient Chinese books, as eating tigers and leopards, a completely arbitrary identification. In the last edition of the *Rh ya* (1802), in the preface it is stated, that the drawings appended to that work date from the time of the Sung

The wolves in those countries have also manes.¹³⁹

The 孔雀 *k'ung-ts'io* (peacocks) of the western countries are like the peacocks represented in our paintings, only they have their tails covered by the wings. But every day at noon the tail opens like a splendid green screen.¹⁴⁰

There are also 香貓 *hiang-mao* (fragrant cats),¹⁴¹ resembling our



dynasty, and that they have been carefully copied. Thus the drawing of the lion, I present here to the reader was made originally between the 10th and 12th centuries. The lion seems to have spread in ancient times over the whole of western Asia, as far even as Transoxiana. Alexander the Great is reported by Curtius to have killed a lion in that country, between the present Samarcand and Bokhara. We are told by the Persian authors, that Houlagou in 1256 arranged a lion hunt near the Djihoun (Oxus), and that ten lions were killed. (D'Ohs-son, tom. iii, p. 140.)

As far as I know, at the present day in western Asia, lions are found only in southern Persia, especially near Shiraz.

139. Perhaps the author speaks of hyenas.

140. Rémusat translates the three characters 若翠屏 *jo ts'ui p'ing* by, "comme fait l'oiseau tsoui." He does not translate the character *p'ing* at all, which means "ecreux."

翡翠 *Fei-ts'ui* is the Chinese name of the *kingfisher* (*alcedo bengalensis*), the beautiful green feathers of which are made up into different ornaments. Therefore *ts'ui* means also "green." I need not mention, that the kingfisher never spreads out his tail like the peacock, as Rémusat states.

孔雀 *K'ung-ts'io* is the Chinese name for the peacock. In European books relating to China, I have often seen the Chinese name of the peacock translated by, "bird of Confucius." Indeed the character *K'ung* represents Confucius' name and *ts'io* means "bird." But the Chinese do not intend this meaning. *K'ung* means also "great, excellent," and at the time of Confucius the peacock was not known in China. The *Pen ts'ao* (book xlix, f. 17), in explaining the name of the peacock states, that *k'ung* means "great;" but that perhaps by this sound a southern (foreign) word is intended. 摩由邏 *Mo-yu-lo* is given there as the Sanscrit name of the bird. (According to Crawford's *Dictionary of the Indian islands*, p. 833, its Sanscrit name is *mañura*). The peacock seems to be first mentioned in Chinese books in the beginning of our era. I have not been able to find any allusion to it in the Chinese classics. In the "History of the Posterior Han," which began its rule A. D. 25 (*Hou han shu*, chap. 118), the *k'ung-ts'io* is enumerated amongst the animals found in *T'iao-chi*, which country is generally identified with Persia (Tadjiks). The *Pen ts'ao* states, that the peacock occurs in *Kiao-chi* (Cochinchina). In China it has always been considered as a rare bird, and our traveller Ch'ang T'e seems only to have seen paintings of it in China. Now Chinese mandarins wear peacock feathers on their caps, as a mark of distinction, but the bird is not frequently met with. I have seen it occasionally kept by bird-sellers in Peking. The native country of the peacock is India.

141. *Hiang-mao*, "fragrant cat." The author means doubtless the *civet cat*, which produces the perfume known under the name of civet and highly prized by the orientals. There

土豹 *t'u-pao*.¹⁴² Their excrements and urine are fragrant like musk.

There are 鸚鵡 *ying-wu* of five colours (*i. e.* variegated parrots).

風駝 *Fēng-t'o* (wind camels) are used for despatching couriers. They make a thousand *li* in one day.¹⁴³ But there are 鶇鶇 *po-to* (pigeons),¹⁴⁴ which also transmit news to a distance of a thousand *li* in one day.

are two species of *viverra* yielding this perfume, *v. civetta* in Africa, and *v. zibetha* in India. Both are kept in a half-domesticated state, for the purpose of yielding civet. I am not aware whether the civet cat is met with in western Asia in a wild state, but as the Persians and Arabs in ancient times were very fond of civet, they probably kept the animal.

142. In the mountains west of Peking there are two kinds of panthers. The smaller species is called *t'u-pao* by the Chinese.

143. By *feng-t'o*, or as the *Pen ts'ao* (book 1, f. 83) writes the name 風脚駝 *feng-kio-t'o* (wind-footed camel), explaining that it means swift like the wind, the Chinese authors understand the one-humped camel or dromedary (*camelus dromedarius*). The latter name is derived from the Greek *δρομας, ἄδος*—"swift." So Strabo terms the swift camels (book xv, p. 724) with which Alexander Magnus pursued Darius, and afterwards Bessus the murderer of the Persian king, to Bactria. The one-humped camel is a native of Africa and the south-western part of Asia, whilst the two-humped camel (*camelus bactrianus*), is an inhabitant of central Asia and Mongolia. But it is found also in Persia. It is remarkable that the existence of camels, and their usefulness as beasts of burden, in different parts of the ancient world, depends upon certain climatic conditions, which are diametrically opposite. The two-humped camel inhabiting the vast plateau of Mongolia, where the winter is exceedingly cold, is not fit for supporting heat; but in winter it is qualified to bear extreme cold, snow-storms and want of nourishment for a long time. In winter time the Russian mail between Kiachta and Peking can only be carried by camels through the Mongolian desert. The western camels, on the contrary, are beasts fit only for the hot sandy deserts of Africa and Asia, where the temperature in winter does not attain low degrees, and is very sensitive to snow and cold. Numbers of camel skeletons can be seen on the roads crossing mountain ranges in Persia, and covered with snow in winter time. The one and the two-humped camels, although confined originally to different parts of Asia, were both known in early times to the eastern as well as to the western Asiatics. I possess some photographs of the ruins of Persepolis, taken by my late friend Colonel Pesce, in which the two-humped camel repeatedly appears in the bas-reliefs of the ancient capital. On the other side it can be proved from the Chinese annals, that the Chinese knew dromedaries in the second century before our era. It was again the general Chang Kien, who brought the first accounts of the 一封橐駝 *yi-feng-t'o-t'o*, "one-humped camels," he saw in the country of the *Ta-yü-ti* (*Massagetae*, according to Ritter, near the Oxus). Compare *Ts'ien han shu*, chap. 96. Afterwards they are often mentioned in the dynastic histories, sometimes also under the name of 獨峯駝 *tu-fēng-t'o* (meaning also "one-humped camel"), as camels of western Asia. The two-humped camel of the Mongolian deserts is larger and plumper-shaped than the one-humped, and cannot be trained for swift racing like the slender-shaped dromedary, which has been noticed by our Chinese traveller as the "wind camel." Chardin, a French traveller in Persia, about two hundred years ago, states, that the camels in Persia trained for the service of the couriers, are called *revahie*, "runner," and adds, that the same camels were known to the Hebrews under the name of *gemela fareka*, meaning "chameau volant." I have not been able to find in M'Clintock's valuable *Encyclopædia of Biblical Literature* a term sounding like that. As regards *wild camels*, the *Pen ts'ao* quotes an author of the 11th century, who states, that 野駝 *ye-t'o* (wild camels) are met with only in the deserts north-west of China proper. Their existence there, up to our days, has been ascertained not only by the Russian traveller Mr. Przewalsky, but Mr. Elias (*Proceed. R. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xviii, p. 1) quotes other modern travellers, who notice the wild camel in the deserts of central Asia.

144. The conveyance of letters by means of pigeons is an oriental invention. The Persian mediæval authors mention repeatedly carrier pigeons used in western Asia, even in time of war. In 1262, when the Mongols besieged the city of Mossul, a tired pigeon, destined for the besieged, sat down on one of the catapults of the Mongols and was caught. It was found that the pigeon carried the news of the approach of an army sent to relieve

珊瑚 *Shan-hu* (corals) grow in the south-western (Mediterranean) sea. They are taken with iron nets; some of them being three feet in height.¹⁴⁵

The 蘭赤 *lan-ch'i* is found on the rocks of the mountains in the south-western countries. There is also the 鴨思 *ya-sze* of five (different) colours; which is of a very high price.¹⁴⁶

Mossul. The Mongols had just time to send a corps against the enemy which was defeated. (D'Ohsson l. c. tom. iii, p. 372.) Carrier pigeons are known also in China. The *Pen ts'ao* informs us (book xlviii, f. 34, art. 鴿 *ko*, "pigeon") that the pigeons which carry letters are termed 飛奴 *fei-nu* (flying slaves). We are also informed, that the Sanscrit name for pigeon is 迦布德迦 *kia-bu-de-kia* (intended for *kapota*). The Persian name for pigeon is *kebuter*.

145. *Shan-hu*. The same name is used up to this time in China to designate *corals*, which are highly valued here. The *Pen ts'ao* treating of the coral (book viii, f. 58; it is ranged there among the precious stones), ventures no explanation of the name *shan-hu*. It seems not to be a Chinese name. Corals are not found in China. I find them for the first time mentioned in the "History of the Posterior Han," A. D. 25—221 (*Hou han shu*, chap. 118). Corals are said there to be a product of *Ta-ts'in kuo* (the Roman empire; see note 131). In the "History of the T'ang dynasty," 618-907 (*T'ang shu*, chap. 258b, article *Fo-lin*, "the Greek empire;" see note 131), some accounts of coral-fishing are given in the following terms: "The coral tree grows in the sea on rocks like mushrooms. It is at first of a white colour; after a year it changes to yellow, and in the third year it becomes red. The branches are much entangled. The coral tree, which attains a height of three to four feet, is fished up by iron nets, by means of which it is broken off from the rocks." This is a short but quite correct description of coral-fishing as it is even now practised in the Mediterranean, the only sea where true red corals, *corallium rubrum*, are found. The *Pen ts'ao* gives as the Sanscrit name of the coral 鉢擺娑福羅 *bo-bai-so-fu-lo*.

146. I have not been able to find either in the *Pen ts'ao*, in any Chinese dictionary or other Chinese book, an explanation regarding the products *lan-ch'i* and *ya-sze* mentioned in the above passage. Pauthier translates the first by—*épidendron rouge* (?) and the second by—*canards sauvages qui semblent toujours méditer*. The character 蘭 *lan* in Chinese, means indeed a plant of the order of orchids, and *ch'i* means "red;" but Pauthier should have known, that in Chinese the adjective is never placed after the substantive as in French, and in translating these two characters they could only be rendered by "le rouge d'épidendron." The character *ya* means not "wild ducks," but on the contrary "tame ducks;" *sze* means "meditate." Pauthier is also in error in translating 生西南海山石中 "croît dans des montagnes rocheuses situées au milieu de la mer du sud-ouest (le golfe Persique)." *Si-nan-hai* (meaning literally "south-western sea") is a general term always used in Chinese books to designate the countries towards or near the south-western sea, just as *nan-hai* (southern sea) means the islands of the Archipelago. The Chinese author when speaking of products found in the south-western sea, adds the character 中 *chung* (in, in the middle) as we shall see further on. I am of opinion, that the Chinese author does not intend by the names *lan-ch'i* and *ya-sze* "flowers" and "philosophic ducks," but speaks of precious stones; for he enumerates the products of the countries in a certain order, and after having spoken of coral, he mentions the *lan-ch'i*, the *ya-sze* of five different colours, and after that diamonds. He states also that the *ya-sze* is highly prized. I think, therefore, there can be no doubt, that precious stones are meant, and after having looked in Keferstein's *Mineralogia polyglotta* for the west-Asiatic names of different stones, I came to the conclusion, that *lan-ch'i* is the same as *landshiver*, the Arabic name for *lapis-lazuli*, and by the *ya-sze* of five colours probably *jasper* is meant, which is termed in Arabic *yashm*. As is known the *ya-sh-peh*, which is the same as *jasper*, was one of the twelve stones in the breastplate of the high priest, as mentioned in the Bible. Mr. Emanuel in his history of diamonds and precious stones, 1867, pp. 178, 174 and 222 states, that the *jasper* found near Smyrna, in Greece and in Egypt of various colours (yellow, red, green, black, brown) was most highly prized by the ancients. But Emanuel is wrong in stating, that *jasper* is highly prized also in China, and that the seal of the emperor is made of it. The imperial seal in China is made of "jade," 玉 *yü*. I am not aware, that the Chinese now know *jasper*, at least I have not seen it here, and know not the present Chinese name of it. But *lapis-lazuli* is well known to the Chinese, and

(of the mountains). Then birds come and eat this flesh; after which diamonds are found in their excrements.¹⁴⁷

The 撒巴爾 *sa-ba-r*¹⁴⁸ is a product of the western sea. It is

Blue *ya-gu* { The 青亞姑 *ts'ing-ya-gu*, 'blue ya-gu; first quality, of a deep blue colour.
The 你藍 *ni-lan*; medium quality, of a pale blue colour.
The 屋摸你藍 *wu-m' o ni-lan*; lower quality, of a muddy blue colour.
The yellow *ya-gu*.
The white *ya-gu*."

N. B. By *ya-hu* or *ya-gu* the Chinese author renders the Arabic and Persian *yacut*, a name applied to what we call *ruby* and *corundum* (Keferstein, pp. 11, 28). The Moham-medan authors mention a *red yacut*—"the *ruby*," and a *blue* one with many varieties, which we call *sapphire* or blue *corundum*. The name *ni-lan* of the Chinese author represents the Sanscrit *nila*, in Malayan *nilan*, applied to the blue *sapphire*. The yellow *ya-gu* is the yellow corundum or sapphire, known to jewellers under the name of *oriental topaz* (Keferstein, p. 17). Finally the white *ya-gu* is what we call the white sapphire. At the present time, the blue sapphire in Peking is called 藍寶石 *lan-pao-shi*, "blue precious stone."

"4. Stones belonging to the category 貓睛 *mao-tsing*.

The (true) *mao-tsing* has a fibre of lustre in the interior.

The 走水石 *tsou-shui-shi* when dug from the mines, resembles the *mao-tsing*."

N. B. *Mac-tsing* means "cat's-pupil," and denotes the same stone as known to us under the name of *cat's-eye*. The Chinese as well as Europeans derived this name from the peculiar lustre of the stone, resembling, when held towards the light, the contracted pupil of the eye of a cat. *Tsou-shui-shi* means "stone with walking water" (undulating lustre is to be understood). This stone may be identified with the *chrysoberyl* or *cymophane*. The latter name means in Greek,—"floating light." At the present day, the *cat's-eye* is called in Peking 貓兒眼 *mao-rh-yen* (cat's-eye).

"5. Stones called 甸子 *tien-tze*.

The 你舍卜的 *ni-she-bu-di*. This is the species, which is found in the country of the Moham-médans, and is distinguished by its fine structure.

The 乞里馬泥 *k'i-li-ma-ni*. It is also called 河西甸子 *ho-si-tien-tze* (*Ho-si* means 'west of the Yellow river') and has a coarse structure.

The 荊州石 *King-chou-shi* is called also 襄陽甸子 *siang-yang-tien-tze*. (*Siang-yang fu* is a city in the province of Hupei.) It changes its colour."

N. B. The Chinese author says nothing about the colour of these stones, and it is difficult to say what stone he means by *tien-tze*. Perhaps the *turquoise* was known by this name in China. This beautiful blue stone is dug near Nishapur in Persia, and the Chinese *ni-she-bu-di* sounds like this name. The *Juaher namch*, a Persian treatise on precious stones, quotes four places in Asia, where turquoise is found, viz. *Nishapur*, *Khodjent*, *Shebavek* in *Kerman* (evidently the *Ki-li-ma-ni* of the Chinese author) and a mountain in *Adjerbeidjan*. (See Ouseley's *Travels in Persia*, vol. i, p. 211.) Emanuel states (l. c. p. 178) that the precious turquoise is found near Nishapur, and inferior varieties of it occur also in Thibet and China, that it changes its colour, etc. The Persian name of the turquoise is *firuze*. Now very miserable turquoisees of a greenish colour are sold at Peking under the name 松兒石 *sung-rh-shi*.

147. Rémusat states in a note, that a similar fable regarding the origin of diamonds is recorded in the narrative of the travels of *Sindbad the sailor*. The same is also reported by Marco Polo. (See Col. Yule's *M. Polo*, vol. ii, p. 295.)

148. *Sa-ba-r*. The description given of this drug, found in the sea, can only point to *ambergris*, the *amber* of the Arabs, highly valued in perfumery by the orientals. I find in Ebu Baithar's *materia medica* (translated by Sontheimer, vol. ii, p. 210), the following notice about the origin of *amber*: "There is at the bottom of the sea, some substance which the sea beasts eat and then vomit it; which is *amber*." The *Pen ts'ao* mentions *ambergris* (book xliii, f. 5), under the name 龍涎香 *lung-sien-hiang*, "dragon's saliva perfume," and describes it as a sweet-scented product, which is obtained from the south-western sea. It is greasy, and at first yellowish white; when dry it forms pieces of a yellowish black colour. In spring whole herds of dragons swim in that sea, and vomit it out. Others say, that it is found in the belly of a large fish. This description also doubtless points to *ambergris*, which in reality is the pathological concretion of the

the essence of tortoise-shell (瑤瑁之遺精). The 蛟魚 *kiao-yü* (crocodiles)¹⁴⁹ eat the tortoises and then vomit. In a year the vomited substance hardens. (That is the sabar.) The price of it equals that of gold. It is adulterated with rhinoceros excrements.

The 骨篤犀 *gu-du-si* is the horn of a large snake. It has the property of neutralizing poison.¹⁵⁰

The 龍種馬 *lung-chung-ma* (dragon-horses) are found in the western sea. They are provided with scales and horns. People do not allow mares with colts to graze near (the sea shore). The colts are drawn into the sea and do not come back.¹⁵¹

physeter macrocephalus, a large cetaceous animal. The best ambergris is collected on the Arabian coast. The History of the Ming (*Ming shi*, chap. 826) mentions the *lung-sien-hiang* as a product of 不刺哇 *Bu-la-wa* (Brava, on the east coast of Africa). I am astonished, that Pauthier tries to identify the sea product sa-ba-r of the Chinese author, with the precious stone sapphire.

149. I translate *kiao-yü* by "crocodile," for in the *Pen ts'ao* (book xliii, f. 8), this kind of "only dragon" is stated to be called in Sanscrit 宮毗羅 *gung-bi-lo*; and in Büsching's *Ostindien*, vol. ii, p. 838, I find, that *kumbhira* is the Sanscrit name for crocodile. The *Pen ts'ao* explains the name *kiao* by "crossed eye-brows;" it means probably the two prominent bone ridges, which stretch from the margin of the orbits to the nose of *crocodilus biporcatus*. In Bridgman's *Chrestomathy*, p. 477, 鱷魚 *o-yü* and 鼉龍 *to-lung* are given as the Chinese names for "crocodile." The second name appears in the *Pen-ts'ao* (book xliii, f. 9), and the drawing given there of this beast represents exactly a crocodile. The name *o-yü* is not found in the *Pen ts'ao*, but it is met in other Chinese books, and refers also unquestionably to the crocodile. I cannot enter here into a detailed discussion on this subject; it may suffice to note, that very correct descriptions of the crocodile and its habits are found in ancient Chinese works. The crocodile lived in former times in southern China, but I have not heard of its being found there at the present day.

150. *Gu-du-si* (*gu*="bone"; *du*="strong"; *si*="rhinoceros"). Rémusat translates these three characters by, "La corne du rhinocéros a la dureté d'un os;" which translation conflicts with the rules of Chinese syntax. Besides, this *gu-du-si* is not to be translated, for it is the name (probably the foreign name) of a medicine. Rémusat has omitted the translation of the next four characters, which explain, that it is the horn of a large snake. The *gu-du-si* is mentioned in the *Pen ts'ao*, book xi, p. 40, which repeats the statement of the *Si shi ki*, that it neutralizes every poison (解諸毒 does not mean as Rémusat translates: "elle est excellente pour découvrir toute sorte de venin"). The rhinoceros horn (犀角 *si-kio*) is likewise reputed from time immemorial for its anti-poisonous virtues. The *Shen mung pen ts'ao*, an ancient materia medica, attributed by tradition to the emperor *Shen-mung*, B. C. 2700, at all events the most ancient Chinese materia medica existing, states that the rhinoceros-horn 主百毒 *chu po tu*, "cures the hundred poisons." The rhinoceros and goblets made from rhinoceros-horn are repeatedly mentioned in the Chinese classics, and even at the present day the latter can be purchased everywhere in China, as at the time of Confucius. It is a remarkable fact, that in India the people from time immemorial, attribute the same anti-poisonous virtues to the rhinoceros-horn as the Chinese do. (See Büsching's *Asien*, vol. ii, p. 838.) I cannot believe that the Chinese have borrowed this practice from the Hindus or vice-versa.

151. *Lung-chung-ma*, "dragon-horses." The Chinese author had probably heard of the large cetaceous animal, which is described in zoology under the name of *duyong* or *dugong*, *halicore cetacea*. This beast is found in the Indian ocean, and also in the Red sea and the Persian gulf, and frequents the shallow sea and the coasts, where it feeds on the subnarine sea-grass pastures. (Compare *Brehm's Illustr. Thierleben*, vol. ii, p. 817.) According to Büsching (l. c. vol. ii, p. 836), the dugong is called *kadelkudira* or "sea-horse" by the Malays. Buffon in denominating it *trichecus equus marinus dugon*, compares it also with a horse. The dugong has given rise, in ancient times, to many miraculous tales, circulating among the Arabs and Persians, and we ought not to wonder,

There is also a black eagle (烏雕 *ts'ao-tiao*). It lays only three eggs in one brood. From one of these eggs a dog comes out; it is of a gray colour and short-haired. It follows the shadow of its mother (when she flies). In hunting game it is always successful.

The 壠種羊 *lung-chung-yang* (literally, "sheep planted on hillocks") are also produced in the western countries. The people take the navel of a sheep, plant it in the ground and water it. When it hears thunder it grows; the navel retaining a connection with the ground. After the beast has become full grown, they take a stick and frighten it. Then the navel breaks off and the sheep begins to walk and eats grass. In autumn it can be eaten. The flesh of the navel (of the butchered sheep) can be planted again.¹⁵²

when the Chinese author attributes to it horns and scales, according to Chinese views indispensable decorations for a marvellous animal.

152. *Lung-chung-yang*. Pauthier again translates incorrectly that this kind of sheep (which P. calls "mouton de montagnes") is produced in the western sea, whilst the Chinese text 出西海 means in the countries near the western sea (see note 146). Rémusat has not rendered what is stated in his text about the *lung-chung-yang*. Pauthier translated boldly, but he did not understand the subject in hand. He renders 以羊臍種土中概以水開雷而生 "qui a de la ressemblance avec les moutons de notre pays que nous nommons, 'espèce de moutons à ombilic' (*yáng-tsi-tchöung*). Quand on lave leurs mères dans l'eau et qu'elles entendent le tonnerre, elles mettent bas cette espèce de moutons." Pauthier took the characters 長 *chang* and 驚 *king*, which I translate by "to grow" and "to frighten," for the name of the famous Chinese general *Chang Kien*, whose name however is always written 張騫 (See P's translation, "Selon Tchang-kien, etc."). 至秋可食 (in autumn the lamb may be eaten), Pauthier translates, "en automne (quand il n'y en a plus), il puisse manger autre chose." 臍肉復有種 has been rendered by Pauthier, "La chair de l'ombilic est aussi d'une espèce particulière." It is not difficult to divine, that this miraculous story of a lamb, which grows like a plant, is nothing other than a reproduction of the mediæval tale of the *agnus scythicus* or "Tartarian lamb," which is alluded to also by Friar Odoric (Yule's *Cathay*, p. 144); but it must have been current much earlier in western countries, for the Chinese authors mention it in the 9th century. I find the following account in the "History of the T'ang dynasty" (*T'ang shu*, chap. 258b), "There are in the country of Fo-lin (the Byzantine empire, see note 131), sheep which grow from the ground. The people wait till they shoot out, and then surround (the plant or beast), with a wall, to protect it against wild beasts. If the umbilical cord connecting the lamb with the ground is cut off, it will die. (There is another method to keep it living.) A man duly caparisoned, mounts a horse and rushes upon the lamb. At the same time a great noise is made to frighten it. Then the lamb cries, the umbilical cord breaks off, and it goes to grass." Let me compare with these ancient Chinese statements, an account, given by *Scaliger* in the first half of the 16th century, of the Tartar lamb. (See Yule, l. c.) "It is found in the lands of the noble Tartar horde called *Zavollia* (means probably beyond the Wolga, for *za* in Russian="beyond"). The seed is like that of a melon, but the plant, which is called *barometz* or "the lamb" (*baran*="sheep" in Russian) grows to the height of about three feet in the form of that animal, with feet, hoofs, ears, etc., complete, only having in lieu of horns two curly locks of hair. If wounded it bleeds; wolves are greedily fond of it." It is believed at the present day, that we can explain the origin of the mediæval tale regarding the *agnus scythicus*. The *savants* of the last as well as the present century have been much taken up by the elucidation of this question. In 1725 Dr. Bayne of Dantzic first declared that the pretended *agnus scythicus* was nothing more than the root of a large fern covered with its natural villus or yellow down, and accompanied by some of the stems, etc., in order when placed in an inverted position, the better to represent the appearance of the legs and horns of a quadruped. Linnaeus afterwards received a fern from China (evidently from southern China; perhaps his countryman Osbeck brought it), and did not hesitate in declaring it to be the *agnus scythicus*, and to

There is a woman in those western countries, who understands the language of the horses and can predict (in this way?) good and evil.

Many other marvellous things are seen there, but all cannot be reported. Ch'ang Te's journey to the western countries and back had taken *eleven months*.*

[Here the report of Ch'ang Te's journey concludes. Liu Yu, the author of the *Si shi ki*, adds the following critical remarks.]

The *Si-yü* (countries of the west) was first opened (for China) by the general *Chang Kien* (about B. C. 120, he penetrated as far as Bactria; see note 152). The countries, their hills and rivers, are up to our days the same; but as those times belong to remote antiquity, the names of the countries have changed, and it is difficult to enquire into their political changes. What at the present day is called 瀚海 *Han-hai*, was in ancient time 金山 *Kin-shan*.¹⁵³ The 印毒 *Yin-du* of our days is the same as 身毒 *Shen-du* of the Han dynasty.¹⁵⁴ The camel-bird (now found in western countries) is the *ta-ma-tsio* of the kingdom of *An-si* (mentioned at the time of the Han; see note 132). 密昔爾 *Mi-si-r* is the same as the kingdom 拂菻 *Fo-lin* (lan) mentioned in the

name it *polypodium barometz* (Lamarck, *Encycl. Bot.* vol. v, p. 552). Loureiro in his *Flora cochinchinensis*, tom. ii, p. 675, states, that the same plant is found in Cochin-China and China. He gives *k'ou ts'ü* as the Chinese name. He intends evidently 狗脊 *kou-ts'ü* (dog's back), a plant described in the *Pen ts'ao* (book xii, f. 82), and represented in a very good drawing in the Chinese botany *Chi wu ming shi t'u k'ao*, book viii, f. 2, which leaves no doubt about the plant in question being a fern. The rhizoma is represented as covered with long hairs. The *Pen ts'ao* explains the Chinese name by the resemblance of the root to a dog's back, and states, that several species of this fern occur in China, one with black hairs on the root, another with gold-coloured hairs. The first scientific name of the plant, *polypodium barometz*, was afterwards changed to *aspidium barometz*, and then to *cibotium barometz*. Lindley's *Treasury of Botany*, vol. i, p. 280, informs us, that the latter name is identical with *c. glaucescens*, and we find in Bentham's *Flora Hongkongensis*, two other scientific synonyms for the same plant, *c. glaucum* and *c. assamicum*. (Indeed, it seems, that our botanical savants will soon succeed in rendering systematic nomenclature so intricate, that the quotation of a scientific name of a plant will only give rise to confusion.) Mr. Bentham states that this is a tropical plant, occurring in Assam, south China and the Sandwich islands. Nowhere in the books at my disposal can I find mention of it as a plant near the Wolga. The *English Cyclopædia* (quoted by Yule), in assigning to the plant in question an elevated salt plain to the west of the Wolga, derived its information probably from a mediæval traveller, not from a botanical work. How then can Mr. Th. Moore state in Lindley's *Treasury of Botany*, that the agnus scythicus of mediæval travellers is without doubt the *cibotium barometz*? Mediæval travellers as well as the Chinese authors agree in assigning to this marvellous *plant-animal* the countries of western Asia or eastern Europe.



CIBOTIUM BAROMETZ.
from Lindley's
Treasury of Botany.

153. The Chinese author is wrong. *Han-hai* and *Kin-shan* are not the same. (Compare *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, notes 51, 53, and *Si shi ki*, note 31.)

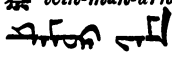
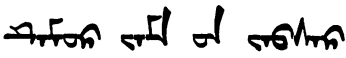
154. By the latter name India was known to the Chinese, about the commencement of our era.

* See note F.

time of the T'ang dynasty.¹⁵⁵ This can be proved by comparing the products, customs etc. of the respective countries (as mentioned in different times). For instance the *T'ang shu* states that *Fo-lin* is forty thousand *li* distant from the (Chinese) capital, that it is situated on the borders of the sea, and that it is rich in rare and precious products. All agree very well with the recent statements (about Mi-si-r), and there can be no doubt as to the identification.

Written by 劉郁 *Liu Yu*, in the third month of the year 1263.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

- B. The Imperial Catalogue *Szé k'óo tseuén shoo tsung mǎh* says 玉堂雜記 *Yǔh t'áng tsā ké*, which is an obvious blunder, probably a clerical error, overlooked through carelessness in the editing. The *Yǔh t'áng tsā ké* is a small work in three books, written by 周必大 *Chow Pelh-tâ* in the 12th century, treating of the antiquities of the Han-lin Institute. It is clearly the *Yǔh t'áng k'ea hwá* that is intended; as that is the work of Wáng Yun, and actually contains the *Se shé ké*.
- C. There is still another edition of the *Se shé ké* to be found in the 說郛 *Shwō foo*, a work first issued early in the Ming dynasty in 100 books; the last edition of which, enlarged to 120 books, was published in 1647, by T'aou Ting. As we have not the work at hand now, we cannot speak as to the completeness of the text in question.
- D. The detached edition of the *Se shé ké*, gives this name 特穆爾懣察 *tih-mǔh-úrḥ tsan ch'ä*; the *Shwō foo* has 鐵木兒懣察 *teih-mǔh-úrḥ tsan ch'ä*. We would suggest with deference, the Mongol  *temor cham*, "iron road," or  *temor cham on chabsar*, "iron roadway;" or perhaps with the genitive particle omitted.
- E. A reprint in the *Hae kwo t'óo ché* has "four thousand *le*."
- F. The *Hae kwo t'óo ché* has "fourteen months."

155. The Chinese author is mistaken again; see note 131.

III.

北使記

Pei shi ki.

ACCOUNT OF WESTERN COUNTRIES

BY AN ENVOY OF THE *KIN* EMPEROR,

Sent to Tchinguiz khan in A. D. 1220.

THIS short report bears the title 北使記 *Pei shi ki*, "Notes on an embassy to the north;" by which the author means the northern dynasty or the Mongol court; and as Tchinguiz was at that time near the Hindu-kush mountain, the envoy in reality travelled not to the north, but to the west.

The article is of little importance, and hardly repays the trouble spent in searching it out in the 知不足齋叢書 *Chi pu tsu chai ts'ung shu*, a bulky Chinese work of more than 30,000 pages, containing a very large number of small articles on different matters, collected, as is usually the case in Chinese books, without any system and without a detailed index. The *Pei shi ki* is found there as chapter 14 of the 歸潛志 *Kui tsien chi*, a book written near the close of the 13th century by 劉祁 *Liu K'i*, and treating of different matters regarding the *Kin* dynasty. But *Liu K'i* is not the author of the *Pei shi ki*; he must have reproduced it from another book. This is proved by the statement of the author of the article, that he himself knew the envoy, who returned from the west in 1222, and that he took down the report from his account. *Liu K'i*, as we have seen, wrote at the end of the 13th century. He finished the *Kui tsien chi* in 1295. (See Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 159.)

The name of this envoy of the *Kin* emperor, who went to western Asia, is 吾古孫仲端 *Wu-ku-sun Chung-tuan*. His biography is found in the *Kin shi* or "History of the *Kin* dynasty," chap. 124; and his mission to Tchinguiz is there also shortly recorded. Tchinguiz, who at first was tributary to the *Kin*, in 1211 had withdrawn his allegiance,

and made his first irruption into northern China. He ravaged the provinces of the *Kin* to the Yellow river. 中都 *Chung tu* (the present Peking), the residence of the *Kin* emperor, was taken by the Mongol armies in 1215. Whilst Tchinguiz turned his arms to western Asia, one of his generals, the famous *Moucouli*,¹ continued the war in northern China with the greatest success. The *Kin* emperor distressed, resolved to dispatch an envoy to the great conqueror to solicit peace. This was the subject of Wu-ku-sun's mission to the west. In his narrative nothing is reported regarding his diplomatic negotiations; but his audience with Tchinguiz in the country of the Mohammedans, and the discourse he had with the conqueror, are recorded in the *Yüan shi*, as well as in the *T'ung kien kang mu*. We have seen that Ch'ang-ch'un, in his travels met the envoy of the *Kin* emperor (v. s. p. 35). Thus the narrative of Wu-ku-sun is corroborated by several contemporary writers. The anonymous author of the *Pei shi ki* records his tale as follows:—

In the 7th month of the year 1220, *Wu-ku-sun Chung-tuan* vice-president of the Board of Rites (禮部侍郎), was intrusted by the emperor (*U-tu-bu* of the *Kin* dynasty) with a mission to the northern court. *An T'ing-chen*, secretary in the Academy (翰林侍制), was appointed his assistant. Wu-ku-sun returned in the 10th month of 1221,² when he addressed me in the following terms: "I have been sent a distance of ten thousand *li* to the west,³ and not wishing all the curious things I saw on my travels to remain unrecorded, I therefore request you to write down my narrative." Wu-ku-sun then reported as follows:—

In the 12th month (January) of 1220 I passed the northern frontier (of the *Kin* empire) and proceeded in a north-western direction, where the ground rises gradually. Advancing parallel with (the northern frontier of) the *Hia* empire,⁴ after travelling seven or eight thousand *li* I arrived at a mountain. East of it all rivers flow to the east; west of it they run to the west, and the ground gradually descends.⁵ Further

1 *Moucouli* of Rashid-eddin. The *Yüan shi* spells the name 木華黎 *Mu-hua-li*.

2 This seems to be an erroneous date for his return. The narrative of Ch'ang-ch'un's travels which is more trustworthy, states, that they met the envoy of the *Kin* on his way back west of the *Talas* river, on the 13th of the 10th month of 1221 (see p. 35). In Wu-ku-sun's biography, the 12th month (January 1222) is given as the time of his return to China. This seems also too early. The envoy could hardly travel so speedily. The express sent by Ch'ang-ch'un from Peking in 1220 to Tchinguiz, who was at that time near Samarcand, took more than six months before he returned to Peking (see pp. 18, 19).

3 亘天之西 Literally: "west of the border of heaven."

4 Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 81.

5 In Wu-ku-sun's biography, in the *Kin shi*, it is noted: "*Wu-ku sun* and his assistant *An T'ing-chen* received orders to set out to the Mongol court in order to sue for peace. (On their road) they fell in with the first councillor *Mu-hua-li* (the commander-in-chief of the Mongol army in China). *An T'ing-chen* was then retained (by *Mu-hua-li*), and *Wu-ku-sun* continued his journey alone. He proceeded along the northern border of the *Hia* empire, crossed the 流沙 *Liu-sha* desert, passed over the 葱嶺 *T'ung-ling* mountains, arrived in the

on, after travelling four to five thousand *li*, the climate becomes very hot. I passed through more than a hundred cities, not one of which had a Chinese name. I inquired about the country, and the people told me that many tribes were living there; namely the 磨里奚 *Mo-li-hi*, the 磨可里 *Mo-k'o-li*, the 紇里迄斯 *Ho-li-ti-sze*, the 乃蠻 *Nai-man*, the 杭里 *Hang-li*, the 瑰古 *Gui-gu*, the 途馬 *T'u-ma* and the 合魯 *Ho-lu*; all are barbarian tribes (諸番族).⁶ Further on I travelled over several tens of thousands of *li* (又幾萬里), and arrived at the city of 益離 *Yi-li* in the country of the *Hui-ho*. There is the residence of the king of (or of a king of) the *Hui-ho*.⁷ We were then in the first decade of the 4th month (early in May.) The empire of 大石 *Ta-shi*, or of the great 契丹 *K'i-tan*, was formerly in the middle of the country of the *Hui-ho*. 大石林馬 *Ta-shi Lin-ma* belonged to the people of the 遼 *Liao*.⁸ *Tai-tsu* (or *Aguta*, the first emperor of the Kin dynasty) liked him for his intelligence and eloquence, and gave him a princess (of the Kin) as wife; but *Ta-shi* secretly bore the emperor ill-will. At the time the emperor moved his arms to the west,⁹ *Ta-shi* was at first with

西域 *Si-yü* (central Asia), and was presented to the emperor." *Liu-sha* in the above passage means literally "moving sand." This term was applied in ancient times, to the sandy desert west of the *Kia-yü kuan* gate of the great wall, in the present *Kan-su*. This name *Liu-sha* appears already in the *Shu-king* (Tribute of Yü). By the name of *Ts'ung-ling* (Onion mountains), the Chinese since the time of the Han dynasty, understand the high mountain chain which separates eastern Turkestan (Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan) from western Turkestan (Kokand and the land on the Yaxartes and Oxus). It would seem therefore from the above quoted passage, that the route followed by *Wu-ku-sun* lay south of the *T'ien shan* (as the way is described by Marco Polo). This supposition seems, however, to be in contradiction with the *Pei shi ki*, where *Wu-ku-sun* enumerates a number of tribes and nations, who almost all lived north of the *Tien shan*. The statements in his narrative are so vague, and the distances given so exaggerated, that it is difficult to draw any conclusion. But it seems certain, that *Wu-ku-sun* returned by the route north of the *T'ien shan*, for he met with *Ch'ang-ch'un*.

- 6 All these names can be identified with the names of tribes in Mongolia, and central Asia, mentioned by Rashid-oddin (D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, pp. 423 seqq.). The *Mo-li-hi* are probably the *Merkites* of Rashid. According to the Persian historian they lived near the Selenga river.

The *Yüan shi* spells the name 蔑里乞 *Mie-li-k'i*. In the History of the Liao they appear under the name of 密兒紀 *Mi-r-ki*. I do not think that by *Mo-li-hi* the *Mouialihila* or Ismaëlians could be meant. (See *Si shi ki*, note 12.) The *Mo-k'o-li* may be Rashid's *Mekrines*, a tribe living in the Altai mountains. The *Ho-li-ti-sze* are the Kirghuiz. (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 157.) Regarding the *Nai-man*, see *ibid.*, note 9. The *Hang-li* (in the *Yüan shi* the name is generally written 康里 *K'ang-li*, and also 杭里 *Hang-li*) are the *Cancalis* of the Persian author, who states, that they originally nomadized in the plains west of the Caspian sea. The name *Gui-gu* is probably intended for *Outgours*. The *T'u-ma* are the *Toumates* of Rashid, near the territories of the Kirghuiz. The *Ho-lu*, finally are the *Carloucs*, who according to Rashid's statements seem to have lived somewhere near the present *Kouldja*. The *Yüan shi* mentions this tribe repeatedly, and spells the name 哈刺魯 *Ha-la-lu*. On my ancient Chinese map of central and western Asia, the 柯耳魯也 *Ko-r-lu-ye* (evidently the same name) are marked north-east of Alimali.

- 7 The distances *Wu-ku-sun* gives are absurdly exaggerated. If we take his ciphers *au sérieux*, we should have to look for *Yi-li* in western Europe. I am not able to state whether *Yi-li* is intended for ancient *Il-baligh* in the present Ili (see the *Si shi ki*, note 45), or for *Heral*, (see note 15, *infra*).

- 8 Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 33.

him, but afterwards he took his family and fled beyond the mountains (Altai probably). Then he assembled the tribes on the frontier and emigrated to the north-west. On their wanderings they rested at places abounding in water and pasture. After several years they arrived at the 陰山 *Yin shan* mountain,¹⁰ but could not penetrate owing to the rocks and the snow. They were obliged to leave their carts behind, and to carry their baggage on camels. Thus they arrived in the country of the *Hui-ho*, took possession of the land and founded an empire. From day to day *Ta-shi's* power increased; he reigned some thirty years and more, and after death was canonized as 德宗 *Te-tsung*. When he died his son succeeded, who was canonized as 仁宗 *Jen-tsung*. After his death, his younger sister, by name 甘 *Kan*, took charge of the regency; but, as she held illicit intercourse and killed her husband, she was executed. Then the second son of *Jen-tsung* came to the throne. Owing to his appointing unworthy officers, the empire fell into decay, and was finally destroyed by the *Hui-ho*. At the present day there are few of these people left, and they have adopted the customs and the dress of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans).¹¹

The empire of the 回紇 *Hui-ho* is very vast and extends far to the west. In the 4th or 5th month there the grass dries up, as in our country in winter. The mountains are covered with snow even in the hottest season of the year (暑伏). When the sun rises it becomes hot, but as soon as it sets it gets cold. In the 6th month even, people are obliged to use wadded coverlets.¹² There is no rain in summer; it is only in autumn that it begins to fall. Then the vegetation shoots forth, and in winter the plains become green like our country in spring, and herbs and trees are in blossom.

The people (of the Mohammedans) have thick beards, the hair of which is entangled like sheep's wool and of different colours, black or yellow in different shades.¹³ Their faces are almost entirely covered by hair; only the nose and the eyes can be seen. All their customs are very strange. There are the following kinds of *Hui-ho* :—

9. He pursued the Liao emperor.

10. By *Yin shan* probably the *Talki* (Borokhoro) mountains north of Kouldja are meant. (Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 154.) It is all the more probable that *Ta-shi* passed by this way, as the Persian authors state that the *Karakitai* before entering Turkestan, founded a city on the *Iul* river. (D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 442.)

11. A more detailed account of the *Si-liao* or *Karakitai* may be found in the "History of the Liao dynasty," *Liao shi*, chap. 30. But *Wu-ku-sun* gives some statements about them, which are not found in the *Liao shi*. The article regarding the *Si-liao* in the *Liao shi* has been translated into French by *Visdelou*, in the *Supplément à la Bibliothèque Orientale*, and is reproduced by D'Ohsson (l. c. tom. i, pp. 441 seq.), together with translations from the Persian authors regarding the *Karakitai*.

12. *Wu-ku-sun* speaks probably of the climate on the *Hindu-kush*. He was presented to *Tchinguiz* somewhere on that mountain.

13. This statement seems to be perfectly correct. The Persians at the present day dye their hair with *henna* (the powdered leaves of a shrub, *Lawsonia inermis*), which produces an

The 沒速魯蠻回紇 *Mu-su-lu-man Hui-ho* are very bloodthirsty and greedy. They tear flesh with the fingers and swallow it.¹⁴ Even in the time of lent they eat meat and drink wine.

The 遺里諸回紇 *Yi-li chu Hui-ho* (Hui-ho of *Yi-li*) are rather weak and delicate; they do not like to kill, and do not eat flesh when they fast.¹⁵

There are further the 印都回紇 *Yin-du Hui-ho* (Hui-ho of Hindustan),¹⁶ who are black and of good character. Many other things could be reported about this people (of the Hui-ho). The king of the country chooses his servants amongst the black and vilest class of the people of *Yin-du* (Hindustan),¹⁷ and marks their faces by burning (火漫其面焉). The people are all living in cities; there are no villages. The roofs of their houses are covered with clay.¹⁸ All the woodwork in the houses is carved. They use white glass for their windows and for vessels. The country is very rich in silver, pearls, cotton, hemp etc. Their arrows, bows, carts, cloths, armour, spears and vessels are

orange colour. If afterwards indigo is applied, the hair becomes quite black. But a great part of the men prefer the orange colour for their beards. This custom of dying the hair doubtless existed among the Mohammedans in the 13th century. The property of henna in dying the hair yellow was known already to Dioscorides.

14. It is the custom up to this time, among the Mohammedans in Persia, not to use knives or forks at their meals. They tear the flesh with their fingers. The Chinese also, although unacquainted with our custom of using knives and forks, yet never take any meat with their fingers, but use chopsticks.
15. I am embarrassed to know what Wu-ku-sun means by Hui-ho of *Yi-li*. The name *Yi-li* occurs here for the second time in his narrative, although it was rendered above by other characters. But I am inclined to suppose, that it is not *li* in Chinese Turkestan which is meant, but *Herat* or *Heri*. D'Herbelot states, l. c. p. 416, "Hérat a toujours été une des quatre capitales de la Perse." According to Rashid, Herat had been taken by Touléi, Tchinguiz khan's son, in 1221. Wu-ku-sun must have arrived a short time after its capture. The *Yüan shi*, annals, also mention the capture of Herat by Touléi, but as occurring in 1222. I must observe, that the *Yüan shi* gives a tolerably correct description of Tchinguiz khan's expedition to western Asia, and in accordance with Rashid; but all the events are reported there a year later than in Rashid's history. (Compare also *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 118.) The *Yüan shi*, annals, state that Touléi took the cities of *Tu-sze* (Thous) and *Ni-ch'a-wu-r* (Nishapur. See p. 8, *supra*), devastated the country of the *Mu-li-yi* (Isma'ilians. See *Si shi ki*, note 12), crossed the river 撈撈蘭 *Ch'o-ch'o-lan* (Shuo-shuo-lan), and took the city 也里 *Ye-li*. There can be no doubt, that here by *Ye-li*, Herat is meant, and these sounds are intended for *Heri*, which is the original name of Herat. On the *Catalan map* of the year 1375, appended to Col. Yule's *Cathay*, this name is spelt *Eri*. In the *Yüan ch'ao mi shi* (see Palladius' transl. l. c. p. 147), the name of Herat is spelt 亦魯 *Yi-lu*. It is stated there, that Touléi after having taken *Yi-lu*, besieged the city or *Iyudjelen*. We have seen that the *Yüan shi* mentions a river of a similar name near Herat.
16. The account given by Wu-ku-sun regarding the *Hui-ho*, may serve to throw more light upon the question, repeatedly ventilated in these pages, what people in the 13th century the Chinese understood by this name. Some of our European *savants*, and especially Pauthier, have considerably confused our notions on this matter in translating invariably *Hui-ho* by *Ouigours*. The *Yüan ch'ao mi shi* always calls the Mohammedans *Hui-hu*, but in the Mongol original of that book they are termed *Sartol*. Even now the trading class of the people of Transoxiana are known in western Asia under the name of *Sarty*. (see Ritter's *Asien*, vol. v, p. 527).
17. It is not certain, whether the author speaks of an Indian ruler or a Persian sovereign.
18. As is well known, even at the present day, the flat roofs in western Asia are covered with clay.

all of strange appearance. They use large bricks for building bridges.¹⁹ Their boats resemble a shuttle. They have the five kinds of corn²⁰ and mulberry trees as we have in China. Their salt is found in the mountains.²¹ They make wine from grapes. There are water-melons weighing sixty pounds. The apples²² are very prettily coloured. The onions and melons are also very fine and fragrant. As regards animals, camels are found there, but they have only one hump.²³ The oxen there have also a hump on their neck.²⁴ Their sheep have large tails.²⁵ There are also lions, elephants, peacocks, buffaloes (水牛 *shui-niu*, literally "water oxen") and wild asses (野驢 *ye-lu*).²⁶ There are snakes with four legs.²⁷ There is also a dangerous insect, which resembles a spider: when it bites a man, he cries out and dies.²⁸ There is a great variety of beasts, birds, fish, insects, etc. in these countries, which are not found in China.

There is a hill called 塔必斯罕 *T'a-bi-sze-han*. It has an extent of fifty or sixty *li* and appears like a green screen, being covered with forests of 檜 *kui* trees.²⁹ At the foot of the hill is a spring.³⁰

The people are dressed simply. The flaps of their coats have not right and left (袷無左右); all wear girdles. Their clothes, cushions and coverlets, are all made from wool. This wool grows in the ground.³¹ Their food consists of 胡餅 *hu-ping* (barbarian cakes, or rather bread), 湯餅 *t'ang-ping* (meal-meat), fish and flesh. The women are dressed in white cloth and cover their faces with the exception of the eyes. Amongst them there some who have beards. The women do nothing but sing, dance, etc. Sewing and embroidery are executed by men. They have also performers and jugglers. Their laws are written in Mohammedan letters. For writing they use reeds (葦 *wei*).³² Their language cannot be understood by Chinese. They have not the custom of burning their dead. At their funerals they never

19. The Chinese bridges are made of large square stones.

20. About the five kinds of corn, see my *Notes on Chinese botanical works*, page 8.

21. Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, page 46, and *Si shi ki*, note 84.

22. 海棠 *Hai-t'ang*, properly "crab-apples."

23. Compare *Si shi ki*, note 143.

24. Compare *Si shi ki*, note 86.

25. The broad-tailed sheep of Persia, *ovis steatopyga persica*.

26. *Asinus onager*, in Persian "gur-i-khar." Wild asses are found up to this time in all the deserts of Persia.

27. The *Si shi ki* has the same statement. See note 97.

28. The *phalange*. See *Si shi ki*, note 51.

29. See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 36.

30. I am not prepared to say what hill is meant by *T'a-bi-sze-han*. Perhaps the lovely oasis of *Thabas* in Kuhistan. D'Hérbelot in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 836, states that this place was called *Thabas sista*, in order to distinguish it from another place *Thabas* in Fars. I do not know whether the Chinese description agrees with *Thabas*.

31. Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's* statement regarding "vegetable wool." (p. 33). It seems cotton is meant.

32. Indeed the Mohammedans up to this time, write with a pen made of a kind of reed, which in Persia is called "Kalam."

use coffins or sarcophagi. In burying the dead they always put the head towards the west. Their priests do not shave their heads.³³ In their temples no images or statues are seen. The language of their sacred books likewise, is unintelligible to the Chinese. It is only in the cities of 和州 *Huo-chou* and 沙州 *Sha-chou* that statues are found in the temples (of the Hui-ho) as in China. There they (the Hui-ho) recite also Buddhist books written in Chinese letters. (翻漢字佛書).³⁴

(After Wu-ku-sun had finished his report) I (*i. e.* the author of article) said to him:—"Your journey indeed is an extraordinary fact. Anciently, in the time of the Han dynasty, 張騫 *Chang Kien* and 蘇武 *Su Wu*³⁵ were entrusted with missions to far countries. They returned after several years, having endured much suffering and risked their lives. (Like these men) you penetrated to unknown countries, travelled amongst enemies more than ten thousand *li*, crossed deserts, and accomplished all this for the sake of saving the people.³⁶ You were quite cheerful, your mind did not falter; and it is remarkable, that your face bears no token of fatigue. It is because from youth up, your heart has been full of devotion to the throne; and thus you were able to travel amongst the barbarians as gaily as if you had not left home. You have preserved your life and your honour, and your bold feat has made a great sensation amongst your contemporaries. Indeed you are a glorious man; and it is with great pleasure, that I undertake to write your report for the benefit of future historians."

As Wu-ku-sun in his report, says nothing regarding his audience with Tchinguiz khan, I will, for the sake of completeness, translate from the *Yüan shi*, what I have found there on this subject. In the annals, under the year 1221,³⁷ it is stated:—"In this year the *Kin* emperor sent Wu-ku-sun *Chung-tuan* to Tchinguiz with a letter, in which he begged for peace. He agreed to be Tchinguiz khan's younger brother (*i. e.* his vassal), but made the condition to retain the title of 'emperor' (帝 *ti*)." During the year 1222, we read in the same annals:—"In

33. The Buddhist priests in China always shave their heads.

34. About *Huo-chou* or *Kharakhodjo*, in the country of the Ouigours, see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 58. *Sha-chou* lies in the present *Kan-su*, west of the gate of *Kia-yü kuan*. It is mentioned by Marco Polo, who also speaks of the idols of *Sha-chou*.

35. *Chang Kien* is the name of the famous Chinese general, who was sent during the reign of *Wu-ti* (140-86 B. C.) to open communication with western Asia. He was caught by the *Hsiung-nu* (see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 42), and kept prisoner for ten years. He then escaped and reached Kokhand and Bactria, and returned to China about 122 B. C. bringing the first accounts of western Asia. *Su Wu* was another Chinese envoy of the Han dynasty, sent to the *Hsiung-nu* about 100 B. C. The *Hsiung-nu* after having in vain attempted to induce him to turn traitor, banished him to the 北海 *Pei-hai* ("northern sea," the "lake *Baikal*" of our days), where he tended sheep for many years. Finally the emperor *Wu-ti* succeeded in delivering his faithful minister, who afterwards acquired a great popularity amongst the Chinese. His biography is found in the *T'sien han shu*.

36. An allusion to Wu-ku-sun's mission to Tchinguiz, to sue for peace.

37. I repeat my remark that the *Yüan shi* is one year in advance.

autumn Wu-ku-sun was presented to the emperor,³⁸ in the country of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans). The emperor said to him : 'I formerly asked of your sovereign to cede the land north of the Yellow river, and to reign over the country south of it with the title of "king" (王) *wang*. On these conditions I would have suspended the war. But now *Mu-hua-li* has already conquered all these countries, and you are compelled to sue for peace.' Wu-ku-sun then implored the emperor to have pity. Tchinguiz replied :—'It is only in consideration of the great distance you have come that I can be indulgent. The land north of the Yellow river is in my possession, but there are still some cities in 關西 *Kuan-si*³⁹ which have not surrendered. Tell your sovereign to surrender these cities, and then he may reign south of the Yellow river, with the title of *wang*.' After this Wu-ku-sun returned home."

38. Compare Wu-ku-sun's conversation with Chang-ch'un, *supra*. p. 35.

39. *Kuan-si* means west of the gate (pass). Probably the land west of 潼關 *T'ung-kuan*, the important defile on the frontier between *Shen-si*, *Shan-si* and *Ho-nan* is meant.



IV.

EXTRACT FROM THE

西 遊 錄

Si yu lu.

I have stated in the introduction to my paper, that *Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai*, the minister of Tchinguiz khan, who accompanied the conqueror to western Asia, had written a book on his travels to the west, which does not now seem to exist. In searching in the *Chi pu tsu chai ts'ung shu* for the article translated in the foregoing chapter, I was fortunate in finding, if not *Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai*'s original work, at least an abstract of it; and I consider it sufficiently interesting to occupy a place in these notes. The original was probably a narrative, as much detailed as that of *Ch'ang-ch'un*. Unhappily, the Chinese in making abstracts from more extensive works, are seldom able to distinguish what is important and what is not; and in the present abstract consequently, some passages, which have been separated from the context, are not quite intelligible. Nevertheless it is of no little importance regarding the mediæval geography of Asia, and enables us to trace the great highway, by which the Mongol armies passed from Mongolia to western Asia; a subject all the more interesting, as the Persian historians say very little about it. As I presumed, Tchinguiz and his armies went by the same way as *Ch'ang-ch'un*; and as we have seen, *Chang Te* followed for the greater part the same route. All proceeded along the northern slope of the T'ien shan mountains, where up to this time a trade route exists, which however has only been partly explored by our travellers. Urumtsi (ancient Bishbalik) is still known only from some incomplete reports of merchants; no educated traveller has been there.

Before giving the translation of the extract of the *Si yu lu*, I may be allowed to say a few words about the author of the original work, the illustrious minister of Tchinguiz khan and of his successors.

As is stated in his long biography, *Yüan shi*, chap. 146,¹ 耶律楚才 *Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai* was a descendant of the imperial family of the Liao or *K'itan*, which dynasty reigned over northern China, 916–1125, and was overthrown by the Kin. *Ye-lü* was the name of the imperial family of the Liao. *Ch'u-ts'ai* was descended from a son of *Apoki*, the founder of the Liao dynasty; his ancestor had a small principality near the celebrated mount 醫巫閭 *Yi-wu-lü* in Manchuria.² *Ch'u-ts'ai*'s father was a high officer in the service of the Kin. *Ch'u-ts'ai* was born in 1190. At the time Tchinguiz khan's armies took Peking, he was made prisoner. The conqueror attached him to his person, and after having proved his capabilities, gave him the highest post in his empire. *Ch'u-ts'ai* accompanied Tchinguiz in his expedition to western Asia. According to the Chinese annals, he acted also an important part as statesman during the reigns of Tchinguiz khan's successors. He died, —according to the *Yüan shi*,—of grief over the bad administration of the empire, during the regency of Tourokina in 1243, it seems at Peking. The 日下舊聞 *Ji hia kiu wen*, an archæological and historical description of Peking and its neighborhood (see Wylie, l.c. p. 36), published in the 17th century, states that *Ch'u-ts'ai* was buried at the southern foot of the 瑤山 *Weng* hill, near Peking. In 1627 the temple with his grave still existed there; containing his marble statue and that of his wife. He was represented with long moustaches reaching down to his knees. In his biography it is also stated, that Tchinguiz, when he first saw *Ch'u-ts'ai*, was surprised by his tall figure and his splendid beard. A. Palladius informs me, that he has seen another statement (in a description of Liao-tung of the Ming time), according to which, *Ch'u-ts'ai* was buried at the cemetery of his ancestors near mount *Yi-wu-lü* in Manchuria. This seems more plausible, and then there may have been at the *Weng* hill, only a temple and a monument to his memory. In another and more complete edition of the *Ji hia kiu wen*, published in 1774, it is stated, that the name of the *Weng* hill was changed during the Kien-lung period, to *Wan-shou shan*, and that at that time no traces of *Ch'u-ts'ai*'s monument remained; but in 1751, by imperial order, a new temple and a monument were erected there in honour of the meritorious statesman. *Wan-shou shan* (the Hill of Longevity) bears up to this time the same name. It is a lovely hill, about seven miles north-west of Peking, till the last war, in 1860, the summer residence of the Chinese emperor. As is known, the noble palace there was destroyed

1. An extract of *Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai*'s biography is also given in the *Yüan shi lei pien*. The author of this work has added some interesting notes, drawn from rare books which are not found in the *Yüan shi*. Abel Rémusat in his *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. ii, p. 64 seqq. has translated a part of *Ch'u-ts'ai*'s biography.

2. Mount *Yi-wu-lü* is near the present *Kuang-ning hien* in Manchuria. The name occurs already in the classics.

and burnt by the allied armies. Some months ago I visited this place, with its picturesque ruins, covered with climbing plants, and overshadowed by dense groves, reflected in the azure lake, but was not able to detect amongst the ruins, the monument of Tchinguiz khan's minister.

It is strange, that Rashid-eddin, the able Persian historian, who gives such circumstantial accounts of the history of the Mongols, and mentions all the ministers and other high officers of that empire, and for the greater part in perfect accordance with the Chinese historians who compiled the official documents of the Mongols,—does not mention at all Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who by the Chinese however is celebrated not only as an ingenious statesman, but also as a distinguished astronomer and poet. D'Ohsson therefore tries to identify *Ch'u-ts'ai* with *Mahmud Yelvdj*, often mentioned by the Persian authors as a high officer under Tchinguiz and his successors, and who, according to D'Ohsson is not spoken of in the Chinese annals (D'Ohss. tom. ii, pp. 193, 194). But D'Ohsson is wrong; the name of Yelvdj occurs repeatedly in the *Yüan shi*, and other Chinese historical works of that period. Rashid states, that Mahmud Yelvdj was a Mohammedan and that his son *Mass'oud bey* afterwards governed Turkestan and Transoxiana. In the *Yüan shi*, annals, year 1251 (eight years after Ch'u-ts'ai died), we find 牙老瓦赤 *Ya-lao-wa-ch'i* was appointed governor of the province *Yen-king* (northern China), and 麻速忽 *Ma-su-hu* governor in *Bi-shi-ba-li* and other countries. In the *Yüan ch'ao mi shi*,³ Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's name does not appear, but Yelvdj is mentioned there as *Ya-la-wa-ch'i*, a *Hui-hui* from *Urungech'i* (Urgendj). (For further details see l. c. p. 149.) In the *Ts'in ch'eng lu*⁴ mention is made of both at the same time. It is there said (Palladius' translation, p. 196):—The administration of the taxes on the land north of the Yellow river was confided, in the year 1229, to *Wu-du-sa-han*, whilst the same appointment in the western countries was given to *Ya-lu-wa-ch'i*. In 1241 *Ya-la-wa-ch'i* took charge of the administration of the Chinese people. *Urtu* in mongol means "long," *sahal*, "beard." Thus *Wu-du-sa-han* seems to mean "the long-bearded." I stated above, that Ch'u-ts'ai was famed for his long beard.

In the article I am about to translate, Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is not mentioned by this name, but by the name he bore as author, 湛然居士

3. 元朝秘史 A Chinese translation of a history of Tchinguiz, written originally in Mongol in the year 1240, translated into Russian by A. Palladius and published in the *Records of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking*, vol. iv.
4. 皇元聖武親征錄 Another interesting description of Tchinguiz khan's exploits, written about the close of the Yüan dynasty. Translated into Russian by A. Palladius, and published in the *Russian Oriental Record*, 1872.

Chen-jen ká-shi. The abstract of his work, 西遊錄 *Si yu lu*⁵ or "An account of a journey to the west," is found in the first chapter of the 庶齋老學叢談 *Shu chai lao hio ts'ung t'an*, a book written by 如梓 *Ju-tze* in the time of the Yüan dynasty (see Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 134), and included in the above-mentioned collection called *Chi pu tsu chai ts'ung shu*.

The author first gives the names and titles of four generations of the 耶律 *Ye-lü* family, beginning with Ch'u-ts'ai's father, and states that all left behind memoirs (集), which together form a work of 100 volumes, well known to all literary men. After this he states that *Chen-jen ká-shi* (or Ch'u-ts'ai), at the time of the rise of the Mongol empire, accompanied Tchinguiz khan on his expedition to western Asia, that he travelled fifty or sixty thousand *li* (!), that he remained six or seven years in the western countries, and that he wrote a book about his travels, which he named *Si yu lu*. As this book was very rare (even at the time the author wrote), he considered it useful to preserve an abstract of it; which he gives as follows:—

In the year 1218, in spring, in the 3rd month, (*Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai*) left 雲中 *Yün-chung* (the present *Ta-tung fu*, west of Peking), crossed the 天山 *T'ien shan* mountain, traversed the 大磧 *ta-tsi* (stony desert) and the 沙漠 *sha-mo* (sandy desert), and reached Tchinguiz khan's ordo (達行在所).⁶

In the next year (1219), a vast army was raised and set in motion towards the west. The way lay through the 金山 *Kin shan* (Chinese Altai). Even in the middle of the summer, masses of ice and snow accumulate in these mountains. The army passing that road was obliged to cut its way through the ice.⁷ The pines and larch trees

5. This is the correct name of the book. In the Introduction to my article, p. 14, I misspelt the second character.

6. Ch'u-ts'ai evidently went by the same route through Mongolia, by which Ch'ang-ch'un returned (see above, page 54). Ch'ang-ch'un left the country about the present U-lu-sai, crossed the great desert, in which he found much stones and sand, passed by the defile *Yü yang kuan*, in the *Yin shan* mountains, and arrived at *Yün-chung*. Ch'u-ts'ai states, that after leaving *Yün-chung* he crossed the *T'ien shan* mountains. This is as we know the name applied by the Chinese to the great mountain chain in central Asia, the *Celestial mountains* of our maps. But as A. Palladius kindly informs me, the mountain chain 陰山 *Yin-shan* of Chinese maps, stretching from west to east in southern Mongolia has been considered for a long time by some of the Chinese geographers as a continuation of the *Tien shan*, and therefore they sometimes use the two names promiscuously. We have seen that Ch'ang-ch'un always terms the Celestial mountains "Yin shan." The Chinese may be right in their views. A. Von Humboldt independently of the Chinese views, it seems, inclines to the same opinion, that the *Yin shan* is a continuation of the *T'ien shan*. (Ritter's *Asien*, vol. i, p. 236.)

7. Ch'ang-ch'un passed by the same way and confirms Ch'u-ts'ai's statement. (Compare page 27.) The country of the Chinese Altai and western Mongolia have been for long centuries completely unknown to Europeans, and all that we find on our maps regarding these countries has been borrowed from the imperfect Chinese maps. But for two or three years past Russian officers have explored these countries, and I shall especially mention Capt. Matussowsky as one of the first pioneers. I have already drawn attention to his

(檜 *Kui*)⁸ are so high, that they (seem to) reach heaven; the valleys (in the Altai) all abounding in grass and flowers. The rivers west of the *Kin shan* all run to the west and finally discharge into a lake.⁹ South of the *Kinshan* is 別石把 *Bie-shi-ba*,¹⁰ a city of the 回鶻 *Hui-hu*.¹¹ There is a tablet (碑) of the time of the Tang dynasty on which it is said, that here at that time was the 瀚海軍 *han-hai kūn*.¹² The *han-hai* is

merits in these papers, whilst speaking of the *Kizilbash* lake. Lately I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance in Peking, and he was so kind as to give me all the information I desired regarding the Chinese Altai; which enables me to fill up a geographical chasm, I was obliged to leave, in commenting upon Ch'ang-ch'un's travels, and to correct my former views. The *Chinese Altai* or *Ektag Altai*, a continuation of the Russian Altai, stretches south-eastward towards the land between the lakes of *Kizilbash* and *Ike-aral*. It is a high mountain, especially the northern portion of it, which in some places is covered with eternal snow; but it does not stretch so far to the south-east as marked on our maps; for as M. informed me, there is a good road, practicable for carts, passing only over low hills, from *Cobdo* to *Bulun-tagot*, a Chinese city near the mouth of the *Ulunqur*, which discharges into the *Kizilbash*. This was probably the way followed by Ch'ang Te, for a part at least; for the present road leads also along the *Ulunqur* river. There is another road much nearer between these cities, passing over a difficult defile through the Altai, known under the name of *Urmogaiti*. M. does not know this pass from personal observation, but he saw the entrances on both sides. It is practicable only in a part of the year, and only for riders. On the south-western side of the Altai, this defile leads to the sources of the *Kiran* river, an affluent of the *Black Irtysh*, and the road leads down along the *Kiran*, on which river some years ago, a new town, *Tulta*, was founded by Chinese from *Kouldja*, expelled by the Mohammedans (*Dungans*). It is situated in a fertile valley with rich pastures. The valleys of the *Irtysh* and its tributaries all present luxuriant pastures. The *Black Irtysh* at the mouth of the *Kiran* is a large river, navigable even for steamers. There are in all four defiles leading over the *Ektag Altai*, but only one of them, the above-mentioned *Urmogaiti* is practicable for riders. I have little doubt, that *Tchinguiz* with his armies, passed by this defile. In his march to the west with a numerous cavalry, he was always obliged to choose such roads as presented the most abundant pastures. Thus he arrived at the *Black Irtysh*. My view is supported by *Rashid's* statement, that *Tchinguiz* (after having crossed the Altai), passed the whole summer of 1219 at the sources of the *Irtysh*, in order to equip anew and complete his cavalry corps. (*D'Ohsson*, l. c. tom. i, pp. 212, 216.) The same statement about *Tchinguiz's* encamping on the *Yerdishi* is recorded in the *T'sin ch'eng lu* (see note 4). Ch'ang-ch'un seems also to mention the *Black Irtysh* (see p. 28). After having crossed the *Kin shan* (Altai), they stopped for several days near a river at a place abounding in water and grass. On Ch'ang-ch'un's homeward journey, this river is mentioned again (see *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 155, which is to be corrected), as a great river before crossing the *Kin shan*. The *Irtysh* is repeatedly mentioned by its very name in the *Yüan shi*, and spelt there 也兒的石 *Yer-di-shi*. (See *Yüan shi*, annals, years 1206, 1208, *Tchinguiz's* war with the *Naimans*.) As regards Ch'ang-ch'un's way from the *Irtysh* to *Bishbalik* (*Urumtsi*), I showed Capt. M. this part of the narrative, and he informed me, that the Chinese author gives a perfectly correct description of this country. His way must have passed near the western shore of the *Kizilbash* lake. He does not mention it, for the lake is hid from this side by mountains. Lately Col. *Wenyukoff* published a *Review of Russia's frontiers in Asia* (in Russian), and appended to his work two excellent maps, which include the greater part of the new discoveries in western Mongolia. In comparing these with our former maps, one will find that the positions of the mountains, lakes, rivers and towns have changed altogether.

8. See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 36, and also my note further on, at the end of my paper, regarding the *kui* tree.
9. The author speaks of the *Black Irtysh* and its western affluents. This river, as is known, discharges into the *Zaisan* lake, from the northern corner of which it comes out again, and then bears the name *Irtysh*.
10. This is ancient *Bishbalik*, now *Urumtsi*. (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 59.)
11. Here *Hui-hu* must be translated by *Oigours*. (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 45.)
12. *Han-hai* (literally the "northern sea") is an ancient term, but in use also in our days to designate the *Mongolian desert*, and it results from the notices of our Chinese mediæ-

several hundred *li* distant from the city (of Bishbalik). There is a lake with an island in it, on which a great number of birds use to mew.¹³ West of the city (of Bishbalik), two hundred *li* distant is the city of 輪臺縣 *Lun-t'ai hien*, where also a tablet of the time of the T'ang is found.¹⁴ South of the city (of Bishbalik) five hundred *li* (beyond the T'ien shan), is 和州 *Huo-chou*, the same place which at the time of the T'ang was called 高昌 *Kao-ch'ang*, and also 伊州 *Yi-chou*.¹⁵ West of Kao-ch'ang three or four thousand *li* distant is the city of 五端 *Wu-duan*, which is the same as the realm of 于闐 *Yu-t'ien* of the T'ang dynasty. There is a river there, in which is found white and black jade (玉 *yü*).¹⁶

At a distance of more than a thousand *li*, after having crossed the *han-hai*,¹⁷ one arrives at the city of 不刺 *Bu-la*.¹⁸ South of this city

val travellers, that they understood by this name especially the elevated country between the Altai and Caracorum. As the character *kün* means "army, troops," I understand by *han-hai kün*, that here at the time of the T'ang, Chinese troops were stationed for observing the tribes in the *han-hai*.

13. The Chinese text has 有唐碑所謂瀚海軍瀚海去城數百里海中有嶋其上皆禽鳥所落羽毛. The literal meaning of the latter part of this passage would suggest, that by *han-hai* a lake is to be understood. But there is probably an error in the text, due to the abbreviation of the original. *Han-hai* is a term so well known, that Ch'u-ts'ai hardly could have been mistaken as to its meaning, and further on in the text the *han-hai* is mentioned again, and in this case undoubtedly as a desert. It is difficult to say what lake with an island is meant; perhaps the *Ajar-nor* north-west of Urumtsi,—a lake never visited by Europeans.
14. Regarding *Lun-t'ai*, see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 62. In that narrative, *Lun-t'ai* is stated to be three hundred *li* distant from Bishbalik, and Ch'ang-ch'ün arrived in about four days. I stated in note 62, that according to the Han history, *Lun-t'ai* was west of *Yen-ki* (six hundred and eighty *li* distant), which latter answers well to the present *Kharashar*. Thus this place *Lun-t'ai* of the Han ought to be looked for south of the T'ien shan. But Ch'ang-ch'ün as well as Ch'u-ts'ai both mention it north of these mountains, and I think their statement is more trustworthy. Probably in the Han history, six hundred and eighty *li* north west of *Yen-ki* is to be read.
15. Regarding *Huo-chou* or *Kharakhodjo*, see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 58. The author is right in identifying it with ancient *Kao-ch'ang*, but he errs with regard to *Yi-chou*; for *Yi-chou* at the time of the T'ang was the same as 伊吾廬 *Yi-wu-lu* of the Posterior Han (see *Hsu han shu*, chapter 118), or the present *Hami*. Wang Yen-te a Chinese envoy, who went to *Kao-ch'ang* at the end of the tenth century, passed through 伊州 *Yi-chou*, and then proceeding westward, he mentions several places before he arrived at *Kao-ch'ang*. (Comp. Stan. Julien's translation, in his *Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique*, pp. 90-92.) The author who abbreviated Ch'u-ts'ai's book probably made a mistake or omitted some characters.
16. *Yu-t'ien* has for a long time been recognized by our savants (see Rémusat's *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*) as answering to the *Khotan* of the Mohammedan authors. *Yu-t'ien* is an ancient Chinese name in use already two centuries before our era. (See *Ts'ien han shu*, chap. 96, "Si-yü.") *Khotan*, or *Cotun* as Marco Polo spells the name, is evidently intended by the *Wu-duan* of our Chinese traveller. Nearly the same name for this city is found in the *Yüan shi*, chap. 120, Biography of *Ho-sze-mai-li* (Ismaël?). It is stated there, that after the khan of the Karakitai had been slain, the cities of 可失哈兒 *K'o-shi-ha-r* (Kashgar), 押兒牽 *Ya-r-k'ien* and 鄂端 *O-duan* (Khotan) surrendered to the Mongols. On my ancient Chinese map of the 14th century, the same name is more correctly spelt 忽炭 *Hu-t'an*.
17. The author after having spoken of several places south of his road, continues his itinerary.
18. This city is not mentioned in Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, but it seems to be the city *Bolo*, Chang Te passed through before crossing the Talki mountains, the *Pulad* of the Mohammedan authors. (Compare *Si shi ki*, note 40.)

is the 陰山 *Yin shan* mountain, which extends from east to west a thousand *li*, and from north to south two hundred *li*. On the top of the mountain is a lake, which is seventy or eighty *li* in circumference.¹⁹ The land south of the lake is overgrown with 林檎 *lin-k'in* trees, which form such dense forests, that the sunbeams cannot penetrate.²⁰ After leaving the *Yin shan* one arrives at the city of 阿里馬 *A-li-ma*.²¹ The western people (西人) call a *lin-k'in* (apple) *a-li-ma*,²² and as all the orchards around the city abound in apple trees, the city received this name. Eight or nine other cities and towns (城邑) are subject to *A-li-ma*. In that country grapes and pears abound. The people cultivate the five kinds of grain as we do in China. West of *A-li-ma*, there is a large river, which is called 亦列 *I-lie*.²³ Further on, west of this river, is the city of 虎司窩魯朵 *Hu-sze wo-lu-do* the capital of the *Si-liao* (Karakitai). Several tens of cities are subject to it.²⁴ To the west of *Hu-sze wo-lu-do* several hundred *li*, is the city of 塔

19. By *Yin shan* here the *Talki* or *Borokhoro* mountains north of Kouldja are meant; the lake mentioned is the *Sairam*. (Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, notes 72 and 154, and *Si shi ki*, note 45.)

20. The *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (book xxx, fol. 16) identifies the *lin-k'in* with the 沙菓 *sha-kuo*. This is in Peking a small red apple. The drawing of the *lin-k'in* in the Chinese botany *Chi wu ming shi t'u k'ao*, book xxx, fol. i, leaves no doubt about its being an apple.

21. *Almalik*, the present Kouldja. (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 72, and *Si shi ki*, note 45.)

22. Indeed the Kirghuiz, Tartars and other natives of Turk origin call an apple *alam*.

23. This is the river *Il*. *Ch'ang-ch'un* on his way back crossed this river a hundred *li* west of *Almalik*. *Rashid-addin* calls the *Il* river *Hilé*. (See *Si shi ki*, note 40.) *Il* seems to be a very ancient name, for it is mentioned in the History of the T'ang dynasty, in the 7th century. (See *T'ang shu*, chap. 255b.) In the article 西突厥 *Si Tu-küe* (Western Turks), the name of the river 伊麗 *I-li*, occurs frequently.

24. The three last characters of the name, *wo-lu-do* are intended for "ordo." (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 9.) Probably the author speaks of the residence of the khans of Karakitai on the *Ch'ui* river (see *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 83), also alluded to in the *Si shi ki* (see note 56). In the above-mentioned article on the *Si-liao* in the *Liao shi* (see *Pei shi ki*, note 11) it is stated, that *Ye-lü Ta-shi* in his peregrinations to the west pushed on as far as 起

兒漫 *K'i-r-man*, where he was proclaimed emperor, and two years later (1126) re-conducted his army back to the east. After a march of twenty days, they arrived at a

fertile country, where a city was built and called 虎思斡耳朵 *Hu-sze wa-r-do*. *Visdelou* explains this name by "le fort palais." I do not know in what language *hu-sze* means "strong;" perhaps he means the Manchu *hosun* = "strength." I am not inclined to suppose, that by *K'i-r-man* the city of *Kirman* in southern Persia is meant, but rather *Kernane* a place repeatedly mentioned by *Rashid* and situated between Samarcand and Bokhara. Then *Hu-sze wa-r-do* might be looked for on the *Ch'ui* river. This city is mentioned also in the *Yüan shi*, chapter 120, Biography of *Ho-sze-mai-li*, in the following terms:—"He was a man from the *Si-yü* (Turkestan), a native of the city of 谷則

斡兒朵 *Gu-dse wa-r-do*, and a confidant of the 闊兒罕 *K'uo-r-han* of the *Si-liao* (the *Gourkhan* of *Karakitai*). He governed the two cities 可散 *K'o-san* and 八

思哈 *Ba-sze-ha*, subject to *Gu-dse wa-r-do*. At the time *Tchinguiz* conducted his armies to western Asia, *Ho-sze-mai-li* surrendered together with the chiefs of these two cities. (*Ho-sze-mai-li* became afterwards an excellent general in *Tchinguiz* khan's army.) Regarding the two cities *K'o-san* and *Ba-sze-ha*, the first is marked on my ancient Chinese map, south-east of *Tashkend*. The Mohammedan authors call it *Kassan* (see note 26 further on). I know nothing about *Ba-sze-ha*.

喇恩 *T'a-la-sze*.²⁵ From this place four hundred *li* and more to the south-west are the cities 苦蘗 *K'u-djan*, 八普 *Ba-p'u*, 可傘 *K'o-san* and 芭欖 *Ba-lan*.²⁶

K'u-djan (Khodjend) abounds in pomegranates. They are as large as two fists and of a sweet acid taste. People take from three to five and press out the juice into a vessel. That makes a delicious beverage for slaking the thirst.²⁷

Around the city of *Ba-lan* there are everywhere *ba-lan* (almond) gardens; hence the name. (See note 26.) The blossoms of the *ba-lan* tree resemble those of the apricot, only they are a little paler. The leaves are like the leaves of the peach tree, but a little narrower and smaller. The blossoms appear in winter, the fruits ripen in summer.²⁸

In *Ba-p'u* are large water-melons, weighing 50 pounds each. A donkey.²⁹ can only carry two at the same time.

To the north-west of *K'u-djan* (Khodjend) there is the city of 訛打刺 *O-ta-la*. More than ten other cities are subject to it. One time the chief of this place ordered several envoys (of Tchinguiz) and several hundreds of merchants (who were with them), to be put to death, and seized upon their goods. That was the cause of the army being directed against the western people.³⁰

25. The city of *Talas* on the river of same name. (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, notes 78, 80, and *Si shi ki*, note 59.)

26. *K'u-djan* is *Khodjend* on the Yaxartes. *K'o-san* already mentioned in note 24, is described by sultan Baber as a small city of *Fergana*, under the name of *Kassan*; and *Ba-lan* may be identified with *Badam*, according to Baber a place subject to Khodjend, and famed for its almonds. (Compare Klaproth's *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, tom. ii, pp. 144, 145.) We have seen (p. 40, *supra*) that Ch'ang-ch'un spelt *badam*, (which is the Persian name for almonds) = *ba-lan*. On a new Russian map of Khokand and the adjacent countries, reproduced in Petermann's *Geogr. Mitth.* 1874, pt. vi, there is a place *Kanibadann* between Khodjend and Khokand near the Sir-daria. On the same map a city *Kassan* is also marked north of the Sir-daria, north-west of Namangan. I do not know what place is meant by *Ba-p'u*, but there must have been a place of a similar name in ancient *Fergana*, for my ancient Chinese map marks a place 巴補 *Ba-bu* between *K'o-san* and *Ma-r-i-nang* (Marghinan).

27. The Chinese call the pomegranate 石榴 *shi-liu*. It is not indigenous to China, but was introduced from western Asia in early times. (See *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, book xxx, fol. 22.) In China the fruit is not eatable (at least at Peking); the shrub is only cultivated as an ornamental plant. For further particulars, see my *Notes on Chinese botanical works*, p. 16.

28. This is quite a correct description of the almond tree (*amygdalus communis*), which resembles much the peach tree (*amygdalus persica*), only the fruit is different. *Li Shi-chen*, the author of the *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (16th cent.) gives (book xxix, fol. 10) a more detailed description of the almond, which he states to grow in the country of the Mohammedans. He spells the name 巴旦杏 *ba-dan hing* = "*ba-dan* apricot," and thus renders quite correctly the Persian "*badam*."

29. The Chinese text has 長耳 *ch'ang-eh*, the "long-eared," a favorite and it seems, poetical expression for "donkey" in the 13th century; for the same term occurs in one of Ch'ang-ch'un's odes. (See note 121.)

30. *O-ta-la* is the ancient city of *Otrar* in Transoxiana, the ruins of which are marked on some of our maps, — whether correctly I am not prepared to say, — north-west of Tchémkend, near the Sir-daria. My ancient Chinese map places 兀提刺兒 *U-t'i-la-r* (evidently the same name) south-east of Sairam (which is near Tchémkend). Perhaps this may be an error. Ch'u-ts'ai agrees perfectly with the Persian authors in his statement about the

West³¹ of O-ta-la more than a thousand *li*, is a large city called 尋思干 *Sün-se-kan*. Western people say, that the meaning of this name is "fat" (肥 *fei*), and as the land there is very fertile, the city received this name.³² The country there is very rich and populous. They have gold and copper coins, but the coins are not provided with holes (as in China), nor have they rims (郭—as the Chinese coins have). Around the city to an extent of several tens of *li*, there are everywhere orchards, groves, flower gardens, aqueducts, running springs, square basins and round ponds, in uninterrupted succession; indeed Sün-sze-kan is a delicious place. The water-melons there are as large as a horse's head. Regarding grain and vegetables however, the 黍 *shu*, the 穞 *no* and the 大豆 *ta-tou* are not found there.³³ It does not rain there in summer. People make wine from grapes. There are mulberry trees, but not fit for the breeding of silkworms. All clothes are made of 屈陶 *kū-sün*.³⁴

cause of the war with Khovaresm. *Gairkhan Inaldjou*, governor of Otrar had killed Tchinguiz khan's envoys, sent along with a large caravan of merchants to Mohamed of Khovaresm. In the *Yüan shü*, annals, 1219, the name of this governor of Otrar is spelt 哈只兒只蘭禿 *Ha-dji-r dji-lan-t'o*.

31. West probably a misprint for south or south-west.

32. The etymological note of the Chinese author regarding the name of Samarcand seems to be perfectly correct. We have seen in Ch'ang-ch'un's narrative that the name of Samarcand is once written 尋思干 *Sün-sze-kan*, but generally the name is spelt there 邪迷思干 *Sie-mi-sze-kan*. The Nestorian bishops of the middle ages wrote the name also *Semiscant* (see *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 93). I find in Rhasis' *Vocabulaire Français Turc*, "gras" (fat)=*semiz*, and the same equivalent for the word "fat" in a vocabulary of the Kirghuiz language by *Ilmünsky* (Kazan, 1861, in Russian). I need not mention, that the Turks of our days, the Kirghuiz, Calmucs, Tartars etc. are all descendants of that great family of Turks (the *T'u-küe* of the Chinese authors), who for long centuries played an important part in Asiatic history, and extended their power to the west as far as the Oxus. I find in Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, *kand* translated by "pagus."

33. The *shu* is a Chinese variety of *panicum miliaceum*, the "common millet." When boiled it becomes very glutinous. *No* is the "glutinous rice" also, I think, peculiar to eastern Asia. *Ta-tou* is the "soy bean," *soja hispida*, a very important vegetable in eastern Asia. For further particulars regarding these plants, see my *Notes on Chinese botanical works*, pp. 8, 9.

34. I am not aware, whether, this passage is intended to suggest, that in Samarcand silk was unknown at that time. Perhaps the author only notices the existence of mulberry trees there, not fit for breeding silkworms. Then he is right. The mulberry trees in China (several varieties of *morus alba*) are all fit for silkworms, whilst *morus nigra*, that splendid tree of western Asia, is cultivated only for its delicious blackish red fruits. It is well known, that the art of breeding silkworms and probably also the white mulberry tree, have been introduced from China into western Asia; it is not certain at what time. (Compare the learned dissertations on this subject in Ritter's *Asien*, vol. viii, p. 481.) But it is certain, that at the time Ch'u-ts'ai was in Samarcand, silk was produced there; for even *Edn Haukul*, in the 10th century mentions raw silk, as one of the principal products of Tra:soxiana. In the mountains west of Peking, and also in the Peking plain, the mulberry tree is very common. It has generally blackish red fruit, smaller than the fruit of *morus nigra*, and of insipid taste. Even the Chinese, these omnivorous people, do not like them. Mulberry trees with white fruit are not so frequently met with at Peking. The leaves of the Peking mulberry trees are distinguished by the great variety they present in their shape (entire, lobed, lacerated etc.) My friend Mr. Maximowicz the well-known Russian botanist, to whom we are so much indebted for our knowledge of the east Asiatic flora, possesses specimens of the Peking mulberry trees, and has kindly informed me, that both the black and the white fruited, are only varieties of *morus alba*, the silkworm mulberry; the black is var. *bungeana*, Bureau; the white=var. *stylosa*, Bureau. With regard to *kü-sün*, it seems to be the name of a stuff, probably cotton. I find in *Edn Beithar* translated

The white colour for cloths is considered as of good omen, whilst black is the mourning colour; wherefore all cloths seen there are white.³⁵

West of *Sin-sze-kan* (Samarcand) six to seven hundred *li*, is the city of 蒲華 *P'u-hua*. It abounds in every kind of product, and is richer than Samarcand. There is the residence of the 梭里檀 *so-li-t'an* of the 謀速魯蠻 *Mou-su-lu-man* people. The cities of *K'u-djan* (Khodjend), *O-ta-la* (Otrar) etc. all depend on *P'u-hua*.³⁶

West of *P'u-hua* (Bokhara) there is a great river (the Amu-daria), flowing to the west (it must be north-west), which enters a sea (the Aral sea). West of this river is the city of 五里犍 *U-li-gien*, where the mother of the *so-li-t'an* is living. This city is still more rich and populous than Bokhara.³⁷

To the west (again a mistake for south), near the western border of the same great river (Amu-daria) is the city of 班 *Ban*;³⁸ and west of it the city of 輒 *Chuan*.³⁹ Direct west (a misprint for south), one reaches the city of the black 印度 *Yin-du*.⁴⁰ Their writings are not in accordance with Buddhist writings (佛國字 Sanscrit), as regards the letters

by Sontheimer, vol. ii, p. 304, *kassam* = "cotton."

35. It is known, that the Chinese, who in their customs, feelings, ideas &c. are generally in diametrical opposition to the views of western people, consider white as the mourning colour.

36. *P'u-hua* is Bokhara, the celebrated city of the Mohammedans. The name is more correctly spelt 不花刺 *Bu-hua-la* on my ancient Chinese map. In the *Yüan shi* it is termed 卜哈兒 *Bu-ha-r* (annals, year 1221). At the time spoken of, Bokhara belonged to Mohamed, sultan of Khovaresm, whose capital was in Urgendj, near the present Khiva. But he often resided also in Bokhara and was, according to Rashid, in that city, just when Tchinguiz appeared in Transoxiana.

37. *U-li-gien* can be identified with *Urgendj*, the ancient capital of Khovaresm. Col. Yule in his *Cathay*, p. 232, states, that ancient Urgendj stood on both banks of the Oxus, with a bridge connecting them, and that new Urgendj, or the present commercial capital of Kliiva is some sixty miles east of the site of the old city, near the present channel of the Oxus. But that seems not to agree with the new Russian map of Khiva (reproduced in Petermann's *Geogr. Mitth.* 1873, pt. v) where *Yeni* (new) *Urgendj* is marked east of Kliiva, near the Oxus; and *Kunia* (ancient) *Urgendj* about eighty miles north-west of Kliiva, (now) far west of the Oxus. In Petermann's *Mitth.* 1874, p. 25, it is stated, that this city was destroyed in 1388 by Tamerlan. The *Yüan shi* spells the name of Urgendj = *Yü-lung-kie-ch'i* (see above, p. 8). On my ancient Chinese map I do not find Urgendj; but instead of it 花刺子模 *Hua-la-sze-mo*, which denotes it seems *Khovaresm*. On this map, made, as I stated about 1330, the frontiers between Persia, Kiptchak and the dominions of Tchagatai's successors are marked, and *Hua-la-sze-mo* is placed in Kiptchak, but just at the point where the three realms join each other. Rashid states (D'Olsson, tom. i, pp. 251-60), that after Tchinguiz khan's arrival in Transoxiana, Mohamed of Khovaresm fled to Iran, whilst his mother, the energetic *Turkan khatoun*, remained in Urgendj and ruled the country. But afterwards he advised his mother to retire to the mountains of Mazanderan. There she was made prisoner by the Mongols, and then brought to Mongolia. She died at Caracorum in 1233.

38. The city of *Balkh*. (See *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 140.)

39. This seems to be the same city as mentioned in *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, west of his road, and west of the Amu-daria and Balkh (see note 139a). But the name is written there 圖 *Tuan*.

40. It is difficult to say what city of Hindustan is meant. In any case the author speaks not from his own observation. Rashid reports, that Tchinguiz after having pursued Djelal-ed-din as far as the *Sindh*, sent his generals Bela and Tourtai to India (the same is stated in the *Yüan shi*). They besieged *Moultan*, but could not take it, owing to the excessive heat, which obliged them to withdraw.

and the pronunciation. There are very many idols of Buddha. The people do not kill cows or sheep; they only drink the milk of these animals. Snow is unknown there. Every year they reap two crops. It is so hot there, that a vessel of tin put in the sand melts immediately. Even by moonlight one is hurt like on a (China) summer day (by sunbeams).

In the south there is a great river, the water of which is as cold as ice. It runs very rapidly and discharges itself into the southern sea.⁴¹ In that country much sugar-cane (甘蔗 *kan-che*) is cultivated. The people make wine and sugar from the juice.

To the north-west of *Yin-du* (Hindustan) is the realm of 可弗叉 *K'o-fu-ch'a*. For several thousand *li* on every side are plains, and no more hills are met with. They have no cities or towns but breed much cattle and horses. They make a fermented beverage from honey. In that country the days (in summer) are long and the nights short. In little more than the time necessary to cook a mutton chop, the sun rises again.⁴² *K'o-fu-ch'a* is the same country as 骨利幹 *Ku-li-kan*,⁴³ about which the T'ang history reports the same. But the name

41. No doubt the *Indus* or *Sindh* is meant, the upper course of which was reached by Tchinguiz khan himself. The *Yüan ch'ao mi shi* (see note 3) states (Palladius' translation, l. c. p. 142), that Tchinguiz pursued *Djelal-eddin* to the river 申 *Shin*, where almost the whole army of the latter was drowned. In the narrative of *Fa-hien* the Buddhist monk, who went to India about A. D. 400, the name of this river is spelt 信度 *Sin-du*. Hsuan-tsang in the 7th century calls it *Sin*. (Comp. Stan. Julien's *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, tom. i, p. 104.)

42. Although the author determines so vaguely the position of *K'o-fu-ch'a*, there can, however, be no doubt, that he means the large plains of southern Russia, and north and east of the Caspian sea, mentioned by the Persian authors under the name of *Desht Kiptchac*. The *Kiptchac* (D'Herbelot, l. c. writes the name *Capitchak*) were a nomadic people belonging to the race of the Turks. The same were known by their neighbors the Russians as *Polovtsy*. Under that name they are often mentioned in the Russian annals. The Romans and Hungarians called them *Coumans*. (Comp. D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 338.) At the time Ch'u-ts'ai was in western Asia, the country of the Kiptchac was little known to the Mongols, and probably only from hearsay. It was only in 1236 that Kiptchac was conquered by the Mongol armies, but the Mongols met the Kiptchac first in 1223, north of the Caucasus. In that year mention is first made of the Kiptchac in the *Yüan shi*, under the name of 金察 *Kin-ch'a*, and afterwards they are always so termed. In the biography of *Su-bu-tai*, an illustrious Mongol general (*Yüan shi*, chap. 122), it is stated, that this general (starting from Persia with a Mongol corps) passing round the large sea called 田吉思 *T'ien-gi-sze* (*tenghiz* = "sea" in the Turk languages. Here the *Caspian sea* is meant), arrived at the great chain of mountains, called 大和嶺 *Ta-ho ling* (lit. "the great mountain of peace," = the *Caucasus*). A road was cut through this mountain; on the other (northern) side of which the Mongols met several tribes, and also the army of the *Kin-ch'a*, etc. A new expedition was undertaken by the Mongols against the Kiptchac or *Kin-ch'a*, north of the Caspian sea in 1236. This is also described in the *Yüan shi* with some detail. The fermented beverage, made of honey, mentioned by the Chinese author, is up to our days a favorite beverage of the Russian people. They call it *miad*, which is also the name for "honey." Whether they are indebted to the Kiptchac for his invention, I am not prepared to say.

43. The country of the *Ku-li-kan* is spoken of in the History of the T'ang (618-907. *T'ang shu*, chap. 257b), but can by no means be identified with Kiptchac, as the Chinese author suggests. It seems, to be an identification, not of Ch'u-ts'ai, but of the author who made the abstract of his work. The name *Ku-li-kan* at the time of the T'ang evidently referred to

is not the same; probably it has changed in the long course of time.

a people of Siberia, as will be seen from the description:—"The *Ku-li-kan* are a nomadic people living north of the 瀚海 *han-hai* (the north-western part of the Mongolian desert; see note 12). In their country the plant 百合 *po-ho* grows. They have excellent horses with heads like camels. This country is very far from the Chinese capital. It is bounded on the north by the sea (the polar sea). After having crossed the *han-hai* to the north, the days become long and the nights short. After sunset one has no time to roast a sheep's liver, till the sun rises again." What people are meant by the *Ku-li-kan* cannot be investigated. We know nothing regarding the history of Siberia at so early a period. I may be allowed to mention *en passant* that the name of *Siberia* must be of ancient origin. Rashid states (D'Ohsson, tom. i) that the country north of the Angara river is called *Ibir Sibir*. The same name occurs also once in the *Yüan shi*, chap. 121, Biography of *Yü-wu-shi*, who is stated there to have given battle in the country 亦必兒失必兒 *I-bi-r Shi-bi-r* to the prince *Hai-du*, who revolted from *Coublai* khan. In the *Yün chao mî shi* (see Palladius' translation, p. 132), the name occurs even at an earlier period. It is stated there, that in 1206 *Tchinguiz* khan's son *Djudji* subdued all the tribes who lived in the forests (*oriangoutes sylvestres* of Rashid) south of *Shibir*. As to the plant *po-ho* mentioned in the *Tang shu*, as a product of *Ku-li-kan*, and also of other countries answering to northern Mongolia and Siberia (it is stated, that the people make gruel of it), I can give the following explanation. *Po-ho* in China is a common name for *lily*, and the plant mentioned here is *litium spectabile*, Link., the bulbs of which are much eaten by the Mongols and the tribes of southern Siberia; a fact noticed already by *Pallas* in the last century, and confirmed by *Mr. Maximowicz* in his *Flora Amurensis*. Rashid mentions the roots of a plant, which the Mongols eat, and which they call *soudoussoun*. It is an interesting fact that the roots of a plant *sudu* or *sudusoun* are eaten up to this time by the Mongols. Not having seen these roots, I am not able to decide whether they belong to *litium spectabile*. A Russian gentleman, who saw the *sudu* roots in Mongolia, informed me, that they are of cylindrical shape. In any case, *Mailla* is wrong in identifying the root mentioned by Rashid and spoken of also in the *Yün shi* (where they bear no peculiar name), with *ginseng*, probably the only Chinese plant *Mailla* knew. (Compare D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 27, and *Mailla's Histoire de la Chine*, tom. ix, p. 5.)

See W. W. Rossell's *History of the People of Mongolia and Tibet*. 170. The root is the called *soudoussoun*.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION.

Page 2. Russian grand-dukes at the court of the Great Khan. The grand-duke Yaroslav of Vladimir at first sent his son *Constantin* to Ogotai khan. Constantin returned in 1245, and then *Yaroslav* was forced himself to repair to the Great Khan. He arrived in 1246, and had to exculpate himself before Coujouc, on account of different accusations. Then he was given permission to return, and died on his way home, on the 12th of September, 1246. There was a suspicion, that he had been poisoned by order of Coujouc. His body was however carried to Russia. The grand-duke *Alexander Newsky* of Novgorod was also obliged to bow before the Great Khan. He made the journey to Caracorum accompanied by his brother Andrei, and returned in 1249. Compare Karamzin's *History of Russia*.

Page 3. I have erroneously stated, that *Haïton* went to the court of Coujouc khan in 1246. In this year Haïton sent his brother *Sempad* to Coujouc, and went himself in 1254 to the court of Mangou khan.

Page 9, line 13, after "Ils—insert (les Ouïgours).

NOTES TO CH'ANG-CH'UN'S TRAVELS.

A. Palladius has appended to his translation of the *Sî yu kî*, translations of several letters from the correspondence between Tchinguiz khan and Ch'ang-ch'un. I may be allowed to give an English version of two of them, with the view of enabling the reader to form a judgment of the character and mode of thought of these illustrious men. Tchinguiz in his simplicity professes such sound principles for governing people, and his words express such deep verities, that they would be valid even in our days, and for our countries. On the other side, Ch'ang-ch'un inspires sympathy by his modesty, candor and sincerity. He seems to have been endowed with high intelligence, knowing well his time and human nature. This was the reason that Tchinguiz, who was about to include northern China in his empire, laid such great stress upon his advice. But there was yet another reason for which Tchinguiz was impatient to make the sage's acquaintance. According to A. Palladius (l. c. p. 262), Ch'ang-ch'un belonged to the northern Taoist school,—to the sect of the 金蓮 *kin lien* or "golden lotus," the professors of which called themselves 全真 *ts'üan-chen* or "the perfect true" and sainted men. They were all adepts in spiritual alchemy, i. e. they looked in the spiritual world for the 丹 *t'an*, or philosopher's stone, the secret of immortality, etc., which mysteries had been vainly searched after for centuries by material alchemists. We have seen, that one of the first questions Tchinguiz addressed to Ch'ang-ch'un at his first audience, was: "Have you a medicine of immortality?" There is a tradition, that the conqueror in his veneration for the sage, went so far as to propose to him his daughter in marriage, and that the latter escaped from this imperial honor, only by performing a surgical operation on his body. It is a curious fact that Tchinguiz khan and Ch'ang-ch'un died in the same year and in the same month, i. e. in the 7th month of 1227. With reference to Tchinguiz khan's letter to Ch'ang-ch'un, I need not mention, that it was not written by himself; he could not write in any language. Probably the ideas of the conqueror were taken down by a Chinese in his suite;—very likely by Ye-lü C'hu-ts'ai. The letter I translate is written in a classical Chinese style.

Tchinguiz khan's correspondence with Ch'ang-ch'un is found in the 輟耕錄 *Ch'e keng lu*, a book written at the close of the Yüan dynasty, chap. 10, article 丘眞人 *K'iu chen-jen*. *K'iu*=Ch'ang-ch'un's family name; *chen-jen*= "the man of the truth (Taoist)."

Tchinguiz khan wrote to Ch'ang-ch'un.

"Heaven has abandoned China owing to its haughtiness and extravagant luxury. But I, living in the northern wilderness (北野), have not inordinate passions. I like simplicity and purity of manners. I hate luxury, and exercise moderation. I have only one coat and one food (一衣一食). I eat the same food and am dressed in the same tatters as my humble herdsman.* I consider the people my children, and take an interest in talented men as if they were my brothers. We always agree in our principles, and we are always united by mutual affection. At military exercises I am always in the front, and in time of battle am never behind. In the space of seven years I have succeeded in accomplishing a great work, and united the whole world in one empire. I have not myself distinguished qualities, but the government of the *Kin* is inconstant, and therefore Heaven assists me to obtain the throne (of the *Kin*). The *Sung* to the south, the *Hui-ho* to the north,† the *Hia* to the east, and the barba-

* A. Palladius states that the gown of Tchinguiz khan, made of simple stuff, was kept as a relic by his successors, the Mongol emperors of China.

† There is some confusion as to the position assigned to these nations.

rians in the west, all together have acknowledged my supremacy. It seems to me, that since the remote time of our *shan-yü** such a vast empire has not been seen. But as my calling is high, the obligations incumbent on me are also heavy; and I fear, that in my ruling there may be something wanting. To cross a river we make boats and rudders. Likewise we invite sage men and choose out assistants for keeping the empire in good order. Since the time I came to the throne, I have always taken to heart the ruling of my people; but I could not find worthy men to occupy the places of the *three* (kung) and the *nine* (k'ing).† With respect to these circumstances I inquired and heard, that thou master hast penetrated the truth, and that thou walkest in the path of right. Deeply learned and much experienced, thou hast much explored the laws. Thy sanctity is become manifest. Thou hast conserved the rigorous rules of the ancient sages. Thou art endowed with the eminent talents of celebrated men. For a long time thou hast lived in the caverns of the rocks and hast retired from the world; but to thee the people who have acquired sanctity repair, like clouds on the path of the immortals, in innumerable multitudes. I knew, that after the war thou hadst continued to live in Shantung at the same place, and I was always thinking of thee. I know the stories of the returning from the river *Wei* in the same cart, and of the invitations in the reed hut three times repeated.‡ But what shall I do? We are separated by mountains and plains of great extent, and I cannot meet thee. I can only descend from my throne and stand by the side.§ I have fasted and washed.|| I have ordered my adjutant *Liu Chung-lu*¶ to prepare an escort and a simple cart for thee.** Do not be afraid of the thousand *li*; I implore thee to move thy sainted steps. Do not think of the extent of the sandy desert. Commiserate the people in the present situation of affairs, or have pity upon me and communicate to me the means of preserving life. I shall serve thee myself; I hope, that at least thou wilt leave me a trifle of thy wisdom.†† Say only one word to me and I shall be happy. In this letter I have briefly expressed my thoughts, and hope that thou wilt understand them. I hope also, that thou, having penetrated the principles of the *great tao*, sympathizest with all that is right, and wilt not resist the wishes of the people."

"Given on the 1st day of the 5th month, 1219."

Ch'ang-ch'ün's answer to Tchingüiz khan.

"**丘處機** *K'iu Ch'u-ki* from *Si-hia hien*,‡‡ devoted to the *tao*, received lately from afar the most high decree. I must observe that all the people near the sea-shore (i.e. of Shantung, Ch'ang-ch'ün's native country) are without talent. I confess that in worldly matters I am dull, and have not succeeded in investigating the *tao*, although I tried hard in every possible way; I have got old and am not yet dead. My repute has spread over all kingdoms, but as to my sanctity I am not better than ordinary people; and when I look inwards, I am deeply ashamed of myself. Who knows my hidden thoughts? Before this I have had several invitations from the southern capital,§§ and from the *Sung*, and have not gone. But now at the first call of the

* Regarding the *shan-yü*, the khans of the ancient *Hiung-nu* in Mongolia, see note 42. Tchingüiz says 我單于 *wo shan yü*, "our *shan-yü*." This proves that he considered the ancient *Hiung-nu* the ancestors of the Mongols. Klaproth's investigations have proved that they belong to different races.

† **三九之位**. The **三公** *san kung* and the **九卿** *kiu k'ing* are meant. Since the time of the Chou dynasty, 1122—249 B. C. the three kung were the highest councillors of the empire; the nine k'ing occupied different parts of the administration.

‡ This is an allusion to two examples from Chinese history, that sages had been invited by emperors to occupy high charges. Wen wang, the virtual founder of the Chou dynasty found an old man fishing in the river *Wei*, whose conversation proved so sage, that the prince begged him to enter his service as minister, and took him along with him in his cart. The other allusion refers to *Chu Ko-liang*, who was sought out by *Liu Pei*, the founder of the Shu Han dynasty, whom his fame for wisdom had reached. He was found (A. D. 207) inhabiting a reed hut and was with difficulty persuaded to abandon his hermit's life.

§ Tchingüiz proposes to Ch'ang-ch'ün that he should take his (Tchingüiz's) place in governing.

|| **齋戒沐浴**, a Chinese phrase of politeness meaning, that the host has worthily prepared himself to receive the guest. The phrase in its literal meaning—"fast and wash" would seem strange from the lips of Tchingüiz. Rashid-addin reports, that it was a rule amongst the Mongols, never to wash or bathe themselves. The Mussulmans in Mongolia, who sometimes infringed these rules were put to death. It seems that the Mongols of the present time follow conscientiously these practices of their ancestors.

¶ See Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, note 8.

** In ancient times in China, the emperor used to send a cart for the sages when inviting them. (Palladius)

†† **咳唾餘** literally: "spit out a little."

‡‡ *K'iu*="Ch'ang-ch'ün's family name;" *Ch'u-ki*, another name of the sage. *Si-hia hien* was his native place.

§§ The southern capital, **南京** *Nan-king*, at the time of the *Kin* dynasty was the present *K'ai-feng fu*, the residence of the *Kin* emperor after *Peking* had been taken by Tchingüiz. Compare also note 1.

Dragon court,* I am ready. Why? I have heard that the emperor has been gifted by Heaven with such valour and wisdom, as has never been seen in ancient times or in our own days. Majestic splendor is accompanied by justice. The Chinese people as well as the barbarians have acknowledged the Emperor's supremacy. At first I was undecided whether I would hide myself in the mountains, or flee into the sea (to an island), but I dared not oppose the Order. I decided to brave frost and snow, in order to be once presented to the Emperor. I heard at first, that Your Majesty's chariot was not farther than north of 桓州 *Huan-chou* and 撫州 *Fu-chou*.† But after arriving in Yen (Peking), I was informed that it had moved far away, it was not known how many thousand *li*. Storm and dust never cease, obscuring the heavens; I am old and infirm, and fear that I shall be unable to endure the pains of such a long journey, and that perhaps I cannot reach Your Majesty; and even should I reach (I would not be good for anything). Public affairs and affairs of war are not within my capacity. The doctrine of *tao* teaches to restrain the passions, but that is a very difficult task. Considering these reasons I conferred with Liu Chung-lu, and asked him that I might wait in Yen (Peking), or in Te-hing (now Pao-an chou) the return of Your Majesty. But he would not agree to that, and thus I myself undertook to lay my case before the Emperor. I am anxious to satisfy the desire of Your Majesty, and to brave frost and snow; wherefore I solicit the decision (whether I shall start or wait). We were four, who at the same time became ordained monks. Three have attained sanctity. Only I have underservedly the repute of a sainted man. My appearance is parched, my body is weak. I am waiting for Your Majesty's order."

"Written in the 3rd month of 1220."

In note 7, I suggested, that, as regards the length of a Chinese *li* in the middle ages, it may be estimated at 0.38 English mile, or 1 English mile=2.6 *li*. I borrowed this estimate from Dr. Williams' *Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 155, which states, that before Europeans came to China, the Chinese *li* was larger than now, namely=2028 feet English, or 2.6 *li* to a mile. In his new dictionary Dr. Williams states, that the Chinese *li* has been of various lengths, from 1158 to 1894 feet at different times, the latter cipher representing the present length of a *li*. Morrison, in his dictionary, reckons about 3½ *li* to an English mile. But having often had opportunity of comparing distances given by the Chinese with our measures, I came to the conclusion, that we make no considerable error in taking the Chinese *li* of our days at three=one English mile, and it can be proved from ancient itineraries of the 11th and 12th centuries, that the length of the Chinese *li* has not changed since that time. In the 大金國志 *Ta kin kuo chi*, or "History of the Kin nation," chap. 40, fol. 1, there is the detailed itinerary of Hü, an envoy of the Sung, sent in A. D. 1123, from 臨安府 *Lin-an fu* (the capital of the Sung, the present *Hang-chou fu*) to 會寧府 *Hui-ning fu* or 上京 *Shang king*, the residence of the Kin emperor, in northern Manchuria, near the *Sungari* river (許奉使行程錄). I shall compare some of the distances given there, with the itinerary of the same route as found in the 示我周行 *Shi wo chou hing*, a guide for the trade routes in China, published in the second half of the last century; and I shall choose for this purpose, the stretch from *Huang-hien* through *Peking* to *Yü-t'ien hien*. The envoy estimates the distance between *Lin-an fu* (*Hang-chou fu*) and *Huang chou* at 3270 *li*. The *Shi wo chou hing* has 2815 *li* for the same distance. The envoy gives no details regarding his journey to *Huang chou*. He may possibly have travelled by the rivers, or gone some other than the direct way. His itinerary begins with *Huang chou* (now *Huang hien*), at that time at the northern frontier of the Sung empire.

	NAMES OF PLACES	ENVOY OF 12th CENT.	MERCHANTS' GUIDE OF LAST CENT.
From	雄州 <i>Huang chou</i> (Envoy)= 雄縣 <i>Huang hien</i> (Merch. guide)		
to	新城縣 <i>Sin-chang hien</i>	70 <i>li</i>	60 <i>li</i>
"	涿州 <i>Cho chou</i>	60 "	60 "
"	良鄉縣 <i>Liang-hiang hien</i>	70 "	60 "
"	盧溝 <i>Lu-kou</i> river (Envoy)†— Lu-kou bridge (Merch. guide)	30 "	30 "

* 龍庭 *Lung-ting*. He means the Mongol court.

† Ancient *Huan-chou*, according to the *Ta ts'ing yi t'ung chi*, was to the north-east of the *Tu-shi-k'ou* gate (Great wall), a hundred and eighty *li* distant, where the present *Kurtunbalsan* stands. Regarding *Fu chou*, see note 17.

‡ The *Lu-kou* stone bridge, which Marco Polo saw, did not exist in the 12th century. The envoy mentions, that he crossed the *Lu-kou* river (*Hun-ho*) by a floating bridge, and it seems more to the north than the present *Lu-kou k'iao*.

to 燕山府 Yen-shan fu (Envoy)*	
—Peking (Merch. guide) ... 30 li	... 30 li.
„ 三河縣 San-ho hien.	... 111 „ ... 150 „
„ 薊州 Ki chou.	... 70 „ ... 60 „
„ 玉田縣 Yü-t'ien hien.	... 80 „ ... 70 „

The reader will observe from this comparative table, that the distances between the same places as given by the Envoy, and the modern Merchants' guide, sometimes agree, but sometimes the distances given in the Merchants' guide are greater, at other times less. It may therefore be assumed, that the Chinese *li* of the middle ages was about the same as the *li* of our days, of which three make an English mile. I have seen another itinerary, the 宋王會奉使錄略 relating to the 10th or 11th century, and embracing the same route to Peking; which strengthens me in my opinion that the Chinese *li* has not changed since that time.

In note 15 I translated 中原 by "the origin of the middle." "The middle plain" would be a more correct translation.

Note 22, line 5 from bottom, for—Te-sie khan, read—Te-sie-ch'an.

Page 22. The 黃花 *huang hua* (yellow flowers) are mentioned in the *Si yü ki*, near the *Kerulun* river in Mongolia. I thought at first, that the author spoke of yellow flowers in a general sense; but subsequently I learned that the name of *huang hua* is applied in China even now to a favorite vegetable, yielded by a liliaceous plant, which has been collected by Russian botanists near the same place where our mediæval travellers mention their yellow flowers. I find in Loureiro's *Flora Cochinchinensis*, the following statement about *Hemerocallis fulva*, of which he spells the Chinese name *kim châm lòa* (i. e. 金黃花 *kin huang hua*, "golden yellow flower"):—"Floribus istis tum recentibus, tum exsiccatione conservatis, & cum carnibus elixatis vescuntur libenter indigenæ." The dried flowers I purchased in Peking, under the name of *huang-hua ts'ai* (yellow-flower vegetable), were of quite agreeable sweetish taste, and belong without doubt to a yellow *Hemerocallis*. Two kinds of this genus are found in the neighborhood of Peking, *H. graminea*, Andr. and *H. fulva*, L. The first is found also in Siberia and Mongolia. See the *Record of the botanical garden in St. Petersburg*, 1872, pt. i, p. 192 (in Russian). A. Palladius saw plenty of the same plant in Manchuria. The Chinese book name for this plant is 萱草 *Süan-ts'ao*. Under this name *Tatarinow* in his *Catal. med. sin.* notices *H. graminea*; and under the same it occurs in Chinese books of very early date. The plant is described in the *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, book xvi, fol. 19; where it is stated also, that the flowers of it are known by the name of *huang-hua ts'ai*. A good Chinese drawing of the plant is found in the *Chi wu ming shi t'u k'ao*, book xiv, fol. 42.*

Note 36. For—*hui* tree, read—*kui* tree. The tree 桔 *kuai*, called also 檜 *kui*, mentioned twice (pp. 23 & 25) together with the pine tree, as a high tree on the mountains of western Mongolia, and also noticed (as *kui*) by Ch'u-ts'ai, is according to Dr. Williams' dictionary the *larch* tree. But a description of the *kui* tree I find in the 正字通 *Chung tze tung*, a Chinese dictionary, points to another tree. It is there stated: "The 檜 *kui* is a tree of the north. The *Rh ya* as well as the *Shuo wen* (the most ancient dictionaries) agree in stating, that it has the leaves of the 柏 *po* (cypress), and the trunk of the pine. Now we call *kui* a tree, the leaves of which thrive the whole year (i. e. they are evergreen). One half of them consist of prickles, the other half resemble the leaves of the *po*. The fruit is white outside, the kernels inside reddish. The wood is very strong." This description agrees very well with *juniperus chinensis*, L. Endlicher (Synopsis Conifer. p. 20) describes it with the following characters: *Fruticosa, foliis oppositis, alius, acicularibus subulatis erecto-patentibus, alius squamiformibus rhombeis erecto-adpressis, etc.* Endlicher is only mistaken in stating that *j. chinensis* is a shrub; for it is a straight tree as large as *pinus sinensis*, very common in the neighborhood of Peking. It is here the favorite tree for bordering cemeteries, as in western Asia and Europe the cypress. The wood is used for coffins. The two kinds of leaves on the same tree give it a very striking appearance. The ancient descriptions of the imperial gardens in Peking and its neighborhood mention pine trees there, and *kui* trees; and indeed I have seen beautiful specimens of pines and of *juniperus chinensis* in the Wan-shou shan gardens, in Hiang shan, and in the gardens near the temple of Confucius. Wu-ku-sun mentions groves of *kui* trees in Persia, but he saw probably cypresses. I am not aware whether *cupressus sempervirens* exists in China, as Loureiro asserts (*Flora Cochinchinensis*). It is probably on Loureiro's authority that our Chinese dictionaries generally render the character 柏 *po* by cypress (I have also translated it by cypress). But in the north of China, *po* is always

* Yen-shan fu, the ancient name of Peking. But Yen-shan fu was situated a little to the south-west of the present Peking.

applied to *Thuja orientalis*, also a cupressinous tree. A very good drawing of it is found in the Chinese botany *Chi wu ming shi t'u k'ao*, book xxxiii, fol. 1. The drawing of the *kui* tree in the same work, book xxxiii, fol. 2, is not well executed, and admits of no identification. As to the *larch* tree, it is also well known to the Chinese. Last summer I detected *larix dahurica* on the mountains west of Peking, and was told that plenty of these trees grow on the mountains of Shansi. The Chinese name of it is 落葉松 *lo ye sung* (pine which drops the leaves).

Page 25, lines 7 and 18, for—south-eastern and south-east, read—south-western and south-west.

Page 26, line 9, for—*Ba-la-ho-sun* means "city" in Chinese, read—"Ba-la-ho-sun is the same as 城 *ch'eng* (city) in Chinese."

Line 10, for—head of magazines, read—magazine.

Note 53. I explained the Chinese name for the sandy desert 沙陀 *sha-t'o*, by *sha*= "sand," and *t'o*= "dangerous." But *t'o* means also "uneven," and this etymology of the word *sha-t'o*, "sandy downs," would answer better the nature of that desert spoken of, and the "sand-hills thrown up by the wind," in which terms the mediaeval traveller Marignolli describes the desert. See note 55.

Note 74. For—fruit, read—apple.

Page 34, lines 3 and 4, for—"Tuo-hua-shi" and "Toa-hua-shi," read—"Tao-hua-shi."

End of the note 83, for—"twenty days from Sairam to the river Ch'ui, and twelve days between the Ch'ui and Alimali," read—"about nine days from Sairam to the Ch'ui, and eleven between the Ch'ui and Alimali."

Page 39, line 22, for—"between 7 and 8," read—"between 7 and 9."

Note 101. Add "Tu-süe shan" means "the great snowy mountains."

Page 41, for 播只礮 read 播礮只.

Page 46, line 4 from bottom, for—"Here we met," read—"On our road we met." (The Chinese text does not say that Ch'ang-ch'un was at T'uan-ba-la).

Page 48, line 11 from bottom, for—"note 37" read—"note 87."

Page 50. With reference to the two-headed snakes mentioned in the *Si yü ki*, near Sairam, I would notice the curious fact that this story is reported up to this time in those countries. *Levshin* in his work on the Kirghiz Kaisaks (in Russian), enumerating (vol. i, p. 143) the snakes there, concludes with the statement, that the superstitious fancy of the people adds to this list certain two-headed snakes.

In note 176, I stated, that the monastery of *Po-yün kuan* was at first inside the wall of ancient Peking, but that it remained outside, when under the Ming dynasty the capital was made smaller. I must correct this statement, for I find in the above-mentioned archaeological description of Peking (chap. xciv, fol. 1) a statement of a writer of the Mongol dynasty, that even in the Mongol time, *Po-yün kuan* was outside the wall, but that it was built inside the old city (of the Kin).

NOTES TO THE SI-SHI-KI.

On page 69, line 3 from top, I translated the phrase 山石皆有松文 by "the rocky mountains were covered all over with fine pine trees." This passage is somewhat obscure, and may also be understood, "the stones (rocks) of the mountains all bear figures of pine trees." Perhaps this latter version is to be preferred.

Note 37. Capt Matussowsky informed me, that the name of the lake *Kizilbash* (called also *Ulungur* by the natives from the river which discharges into the lake) derives its origin from an excellent fish of this name found in the lake. This fish, as we have seen, is also alluded to in the *Si shi ki*. It is a fish two feet long, with a red head; hence the name *Kizilbash* in all the Turk languages means "red head." (Compare Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta*). The lake has been known since the time of the empress Catherine, to the Siberian peasants, living on the lower Irtysh; for they used to go every year to the deserts of western Mongolia to collect salt. They call the fish *taimen* or *talmen*. The same is found also in the Irtysh and in the Zaisan lake. The *Kizilbash* lake is only 1½ werst (1 English mile) distant from the Black Irtysh, and the people assert, that there is a subterranean communication between them. The *taimen* of the Siberian people is a salmon, *salmo furiatilis*. (Compare Ritter's *Asien*, vol. ii, p. 640.)

Note 117. The traveller speaks of a breed of horses in Bagdad, called *t'o-bi-ch'a*. This statement is corroborated in the Mongol text of the *Yüan ch'ao mi shi*, in which it is recorded that under the reign of Ogotai khan, the general *Teharmogoun*, (see *Si-shi-ki*, note 2) sent, together with other products from western Asia, a number of *t'o-bi-ch'au* to the Mongol court. This term is explained there by "horses from *Bageda* with long necks and long legs," which description would suit the breed of the so-called Turcoman horses, highly prized even at the present day in Persia. *Tobichaut* is the Mongol plural form of *tobicha*. I cannot decide to what language the word belongs. It is not modern Mongol.

APPENDIX.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF "CHINESE MEDIEVAL TRAVELLERS TO THE WEST."

BY A. WYLIE.

Chinese.			A. D.	SI YU LU.	Page.
Y.	M.	D.			
15			1218,		
戊寅	3	—	Mar 28-Apr 25	Ye-lü Ch'u-t's'ai left Yün-chung to join the Mongol army...	111
			1219	SI YU KE.	
16	5	—	May 15-Ja 12	Liu Chung-lu received order from Tchinguiz to seek Ch'ang-ch'un	17
己卯			1220		
12	—		Jan. 7-Feb. 4	Tchinguiz sent Liu Chung-lu to fetch Kiu Ch'ang-ch'un.	"
1	—		Feb. 5-Mar. 5	Kiu Ch'ang-ch'un set out for the north.	18
17	2	—	Mar. 6-Apr. 4	Arrived at Yen (Peking)...	"
庚辰	4	15	May 18	Left Yen for the north.	"
	5	—	June 3-July 1	Arrived at Te-hing, (now Paon-an chow).	"
	10	—	Oct. 28-No 26	Prince O-chen's envoy A-li-sien arrived.	"
18			1221		
辛巳	1	8	February 1	Kiu Ch'ang-ch'un left Te-hing.	19
	"	10	" 3	Passed the night at Ts'ui-ping kou.	"
	"	15	" 8	Arrived at Kai-li lake.	20
	3	1	March 25	Arrived at Yu-rh lake.	"
	"	5	" 29	Started again in a north-eastern direction.	21
	4	1	April 23	Reached prince O-chen's encampment.	"
	"	7	" 29	Ch'ang-ch'un was presented to the prince.	"
	"	17	May 9	The prince sent horses and carts to expedite Ch'ang-ch'un.	22
	"	22	" 14	Ch'ang-ch'un reached the river Kerulun.	"
	5	1	" 23	Total eclipse at noon.	"
	6	13	July 3	Passed over the Chang-sung mountain.	23
	"	14	" 4	Passed over a mountain and crossed a shallow river.	24
	"	17	" 7	Passed the night on the west side of the mountain.	"
	"	28	" 18	Stopped on the east side of the empress' ordo.	"
	7	9	" 29	Left the ordo.	25
	"	25	August 14	Chinese came to visit Ch'ang-ch'un at Meng-ku ying.	26
	"	26	" 15	Chen-hai came to visit him.	"
	8	"	" 26	Ch'ang-ch'un started again.	27
	"	15	September 2	At the north-eastern side of the Altai mountains.	"
	"	27	" 14	At the north side of the Yin shan mountains.	29
	"	28	" 15	Followed the course of a river.	30
	9	2	" 19	Left Bishbalik.	"
	"	9	" 26	Arrived at Changbalik.	31
9	27	October 14		Reached Almalik.	33
10	"	" 17		Crossed the river Talas.	34
"	13	" 29		Met a Chinese envoy returning.	35
"	16	November 1		Reached the foot of the southern mountains.	"
"	18	" 3		Travelled westward along the hills.	36
11	4	" 20		New-years day at Sairam.	"
"	5	" 20		Ch'ang-ch'un's disciple Chao Kiu-ku died.	37
"	18	December 3		Arrived at Samarcand.	38

Chinese.			A. D.	SI YU KI.	Page.
Y.	M.	D.			
1222					
19 壬午	12	Int.	Jan14-Feb.11	The adjutant returned from an exploration. ...	40
	1	—	Feb.12-Mar13	Almond trees began to blossom. ...	41
	1	13	February23	A-li-seen left Samarcand for the imperial camp. ...	41
	"	16	"	A-li-seen passed the Iron Gate. ...	41
	"	21	March 3	Crossed the Amu-daria. ...	41
	2	1	"	Passed over the Hindu-kush. ...	41
	"	2	"	Peach blossoms dropping. ...	40
	"	15	"	A Taoist fête day. ...	41
	3	—	Apr12-May11	A-li-seen returned from the camp. ...	41
	3	15	April 26	Ch'ang-ch'un set out for the imperial camp. ...	41
	"	19	"	Passed the city of Ko-shi. ...	41
	"	21	May 2	Beyond the mountain. ...	42
	"	29	"	Crossed the Amu-daria. ...	41
	4	—	May12-Jun9	Wheat ripens. ...	41
	4	5	May 16	Arrived at the camp. ...	42
	"	14	"	Day fixed for expounding Taoism. ...	43
	5	—	Jun.10-Jul9	Ch'ang-ch'un used to sit at the northern window. ...	44
	5	5	June 14	Ch'ang-ch'un returned to Samarcand. ...	44
	6	—	July10-Aug7	Prince Tehagatai returned. ...	44
	7	—	Aug.8-Sep 6	Ch'ang-ch'un sent A-li-seen to Tchinguiz. ...	46
	8	7	Septem. 13	Tchinguiz's answer arrived. ...	47
	"	8	"	Ch'ang-ch'un set out for the imperial camp. ...	47
	"	12	"	Passed the city of Ko-shi. ...	47
	"	13	"	Joined by a convoy. ...	47
	"	14	"	Arrived at the south-western foot of the Iron Gate. ...	47
	"	15	"	Arrived at the Amu-daria. ...	47
	"	22	"	Chen-hai came to accompany Ch'ang-ch'un to the camp. ...	47
	"	23	"	Tchinguiz invited Ch'ang-ch'un to dinner. ...	47
	"	27	October 3	Tchinguiz set out for the north. ...	47
20 癸未	9	1	"	Crossed the Amu-daria. ...	47
	"	15	"	Ch'ang-ch'un expounded Taoism to Tchinguiz. ...	48
	"	19	"	Ch'ang-ch'un again expounded Taoism. ...	48
	"	23	"	Ch'ang-ch'un again expounded the doctrine. ...	48
	10	1	November5	Ch'ang-ch'un allowed to visit his old lodging at Samarcand. ...	48
	"	6	"	Ch'ang-ch'un had an interview with Tchinguiz. ...	48
	11	—	Dec.4-Jan.2	Rain and snow frequent. ...	48
	"	26	December29	Ch'ang-ch'un left Samarcand on his homeward journey. ...	48
	1223				
	12	23	January 25	Snowfall and intense cold. ...	49
	"	26	"	Crossed the Sir-daria, and reached the camp. ...	49
	1	1	February 2	Ch'ang-ch'un took his departure. ...	49
	"	11	"	Proceeded eastward. ...	49
	"	21	"	Went one stage to the east. ...	49
	2&3	—	Mar3-Apr30	Terrific wind among the rocks in the A-bu-han mountain. ...	51
	2	7	March 9	Ch'ang-ch'un had an interview with Tchinguiz. ...	49
	"	8	March 10	Tchinguiz thrown from his horse while hunting. ...	49
	"	24	"	Ch'ang-ch'un requested leave to return home. ...	49
	3	7	April 8	Tchinguiz gave him leave to go. ...	49
	"	10	"	Ch'ang-ch'un took final leave of Tchinguiz. ...	49
	"	13	"	Arrived at Sairam. ...	50
	"	15	"	The disciples sacrificed at Chao Kiu-ku's grave. ...	49
	"	23	"	Joined by an imperial envoy, A-gou. ...	49
	4	4	May 4	Crossed the river Ch'ni. ...	49
	"	5	"	At a garden east of Almalik. ...	49
	"	28	"	A great snowfall. ...	51
	5	—	Ma31-Jun28	Ice about a foot thick at the river sides. ...	52
	5&6	—	Ma31-Jul.28	Snow more than ten feet deep. ...	52
	5	7	June 6	Ch'ang-ch'un sent six of his disciples in advance. ...	53
	"	14	"	Ch'ang-ch'un started with six disciples. ...	53
	"	16	"	Crossed a high and snowy mountain. ...	53
	"	17	"	Ch'ang-ch'un did not eat anything; lived on rice-water. ...	53
	"	18	"	The remaining five disciples left the A-bu-han mountain. ...	53

Chinese.			A. D.		SI YU KE.	Page.
Y.	M.	D.				
21 甲申 24 丁亥 25 戊子 17 庚辰 18 辛巳 54 丁巳 56 己未 60 亥癸	6	21	July	19	Ch'ang-ch'un stopped at Yu-yang kuan...	54
	"	22	"	20	Reached Feng chou...	"
	7	1	"	29	Left Feng chou...	"
	"	4	August	1	Reached Hia-shui...	"
	"	5	"	2	Left Hia-shui...	"
	"	9	"	6	Reached Yun-chung (Ta-tung fu)...	"
	8	—	Au27-Sep	25	Left Yun-chung...	"
	"	15	Sep.	10	A service for the dead performed...	55
	1	7	1224 January	28	Arrived at Yen-king (Peking)...	"
	24	7	1227 July	23	Ch'ang-ch'un died...	"
	丁亥	6	1228 July3-Aug	1	Heavy rain uninterruptedly...	"
	25	7	August	2	The heavens suddenly cleared up...	"
	戊子	8	"	9	Black cranes and white cranes flew past...	56
	17	9	"	10	A midnight funeral service...	"
	庚辰	17	1220		PEI SHI KI.	
54 丁巳 56 己未 60 亥癸	7	—	Jul.31-Au	18	Wu-ku-sun Chung-tuan was sent on a mission to the Mongols...	101
	12	—	Dec26-Jan	24	Passed the northern frontier of the Kin empire...	"
	4	—	1221 Ap23-May	22	Arrived at the city of Yi-li...	102
	6	—	May23-Ju	20	The grass dries up in the Hui-ho country...	103
	6	—	Jun21-Jul	20	The people are obliged to use wadded coverlets...	"
	7	12	August	1	Wu-ku-sun left Tehingui's camp on his return...	35
	10	—	Ocl7-Nov	15	Wu-ku-sun returned from his mission...	101
	10	13	October	29	Met Ch'ang-ch'un twelve days south-west of the Talas river...	35
	1	—	1257 Jan17-Fe.	14	Kono-khan reached Wu-li-r...	80
	56	—	1259		SI SHI KI.	
	1	20	February	13	Ch'ang Te set out from Karakorum on his journey to the west...	68
	2	24	March	18	Passed Yi-tu...	74
	"	28	"	22	Passed Talas...	75
	3	3	"	27	Arrived at Bie-shi-lan...	"
	"	4	"	28	Crossed the Sir-daria...	"
	"	8	April	1	Passed Samarcand...	76
	"	14	"	7	Crossed the Amu-daria...	77
	"	19	"	12	Passed Li-chou...	"
	3	26	"	19	Passed through the cities Ma-lan and Na-shing...	77
	"	29	"	22	Passed the city of T'i-sao-r...	78
	4	6	"	28	Passed the city of Gi-li-r...	80
	7	—	July21-Au	28	The sultan of Wu-lia submitted to the Mongols...	90
	3	—	1263 Feb9-Mar	10	Date of the Record...	99

In consequence of the difference of longitude there is a chance of some of the above dates being one day in error; the apparatus of tables necessary for the more exact calculation of new moon, not being within reach of the compiler.

NOTES ON THE ECLIPSE &c. MENTIONED IN THE SI-YU-KI.

In the narrative of Kiu Ch'ang-ch'un's journey, page 22, we read:—"On the 1st of the 5th month, 1221, at noon, an eclipse of the sun happened, while we were on the southern bank of the [Kerulun] river. It was so dark that the stars could be seen, but soon it brightened up again." We find the following allusion also to the same event, on page 39:—"There was also an astronomer, whom the master asked about the eclipse, which had happened on the 1st of the 5th month. The astronomer said: 'At this place (Samarcand) between 7 and 9 o'clock in the morning it was at its greatest, when six-tenths of the sun was eclipsed.' The master then remarked, that he observed the same eclipse on the river *Lar-kü* [Kerulun], and just at noon it was total; but that, when he arrived in his journey to the south-west, at the *Kin shan*, the people told him, that at that place the eclipse was at its greatest at 10 o'clock in the morning, and seven-tenths of the sun was eclipsed. Thus the same eclipse was seen at different places in different aspects."

In the above extracts, while there is a want of precision, such as we might expect from a writer who had not made a special study of astronomy, and whose record made no pretention to scientific detail; yet the incidental mention of the facts that he gives, are interesting in themselves, and, as we shall see, give a stamp of authenticity to the whole narrative.

Now we find by calculation, there was a solar eclipse on May 23rd (old style), 1221, central at about 8h. 45m.* civil reckoning at London; the moon's distance from the node being a little over three degrees and a half. The longitude of Samarcand is east from Greenwich, say 66° 59', which turned into time gives 4h. 27m. 56s. Add this then to the London time 8h. 45m., gives 8h. 12m. 56s. as the time of central eclipse at Samarcand. The Chinese text is 中辰時食至 i. e. "The centre of the eclipse was at mid-*chin*." The hour *chin* extends from 7 to 9 a. m. so that mid-*chin* is actually 8h. a. m.; but the text does not by any means imply a rigorous exactitude to minutes; nor is it at all a forced interpretation, to give our result of 12 minutes and 56 seconds past 8 in the morning as fairly within the meaning of the text.

Again we find Ch'ang-ch'un says:—"When he arrived in his journey to the south-west, at the *Kin shan* [Altai mountains], the people told him that at that place the eclipse was at its greatest at ten o'clock in the morning." The Chinese text is more vague however. It is

巳時食至 i. e. "the eclipse was at its greatest during the hour *sze*." The hour *sze* extends from 9 to 11 a. m. and any time within these limits will agree with the text. From such *data*, and considering the great extent of the Altai range, it is very difficult to determine the spot where Ch'ang-ch'un got his information. In the course of the narrative, the diarist notes that they arrived at the north-eastern side of the Altai on the 15th day of the 8th month; and says they stopped there for some time. This we may suppose to have been the place, if we could determine its position. The Chinese text of the *Si-yu ki* has a note appended by Tung Yew-ching a native scholar, who gives the position as N. lat. about 48° and E. long. about 88°. This would be in the neighbourhood of Cobdo, a not unlikely place, which we may accept *faute de mieux*. 88° is 5h. 52m. in time, which added to the time at London, 8h. 45m. gives 37 minutes after 9 in the forenoon, as the time of the middle of the eclipse at the Altai, and quite in accordance with the Chinese text.

In the record of the personal observation of the phenomenon by Ch'ang-ch'un's party, it is said that the eclipse was seen at noon, while they were on the south bank of the river Kerulun; and from the fact that the stars were visible, we may infer it was total, which Ch'ang-ch'un himself declared to be the case, when he was at Samarcand. In order to vindicate the literal accuracy of this statement, the point of observation must have been in E. long. 123° 45m. which is clearly too far east; as the party was then on the south bank of the Kerulun, to the west of the great lake Kerulun; the debouchure of the river into the lake being about 116° 30'. We must however remember, that portable time measures in those days were almost unknown, or were of the very rudest description; and it is highly improbable that our travellers were provided with any instruments of this kind while on the journey. We may well believe then that they could not really tell within half an hour or more of the exact time. Let us suppose them at the time to have been in E. long. 116° 15', which is quite possible and even probable; they would then have seen the eclipse central half an hour before noon, and in the absence of any standard of measurement, might very easily consider it noon and record it as such. An allowance is also to be made for the time during which the sun was under total eclipse; as it is not said to be central but total at noon.

To shew that May 23rd was identical with the 1st of the 5th month, reference may be had to the 80 year table of the sexagenary cycle† which has been composed for this purpose.

* The error does not exceed a few minutes; and for our present purpose the numbers may be assumed correct.

† See Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, vol. v, p. 103: Observations on Comets, by John Williams, F. S. A. Appendix B.

By this table we find the 1st of January, 1221, corresponded to the term 壬戌 *jin-seuh*, the 59th of the cycle. The same term would consequently recur on May 1st. Following up the table for 22 terms further brings us to 甲申 *kea-shin*, the 21st of the cycle, corresponding to May 23rd of the Julian calendar. Referring next to the *Kin she*, or "History of the Kin dynasty," book xvi, fol. 7, under the year in question, is the record, 五月甲申朔日有食之, "On the 1st of the 5th month, being 甲申 *kea-shin*,—or the 21st of the cycle,—there was an eclipse of the sun." The same statement is repeated in book xx, fol. 5. We have it again in the same terms in the *Hung keen luh*, book xcvi, fol. 21, another of the national histories. One other particular of this eclipse is furnished by the History of the Sung dynasty, which dynasty was contemporary with the Kin. We learn from that, that the sun was in the constellation 畢 *peih* at the time of the conjunction. Now we find that the date in question, May 23rd, 1221, was 65 days from the vernal equinox, equal to about 66 degrees. *Peih* is the 19th of the 28 zodiacal constellations, and extended at that time from about the 56th to the 73rd degree of right ascension; so that at the time of the eclipse the sun was actually in about the 10th degree of *peih*. Thus we have a harmony of all the data with the facts, and Ch'ang-ch'ün's narrative is in perfect agreement with the national histories.

Since the above was written, reference has been made to Gaubil's list of eclipses,* in which this is recorded under the year 1221, with the official note that it occurred on the 1st of the 5th month,—and the calculation of a native astronomer Hing Yun-lou, who using the Yuen dynasty tables, concludes that the eclipse had begun at sunrise,—an obvious error.

On page 22 we read, that after following the course of the Kerulun for sixteen days, Ch'ang ch'ün came to a bend in the river, where he turned off to the south-east and struck the post road from *Yu-rh li* to Caracorum. Ten days more brought them to the summer solstice at a place where the shadow of the gnomon measured 3 feet 6 or 7 inches. This indication may assist us in determining the position of the travellers. Taking 3 feet 6½ inches,—the mean of the two figures given,—as the shadow of an 8 foot stile (the standard used in China from time immemorial), we have the sun's altitude 66° 7', which must have been in latitude 47° 21'. According to this it is probable they were south of the southern bend of the Tura river, somewhere about E. long. 107°, in the site of the present Tsetsen Tchetti khanate; and as four stations farther to the north-west took them across a river, that was doubtless the Karuha.

On page 36, the darist of Ch'ang-ch'ün's journey, after mentioning a city built of red stones to the south of the river Talas, says:—"Passing over a stone bridge, and travelling five days along the south-western mountains, we arrived at the city of *Sai-lan*. There is a small tower in *Sai-lan*. The ruler, a Mohammedan, came to meet us, and directed us to our lodging. During the first days of the 11th month much rain fell. The 4th of the 11th month (November 20th) was the new year of the country people. They were walking in parties congratulating each other."

The above extract furnishes an incidental evidence of the reliability of the narrative. Even if the writer had not indicated the fact, we know from history that the city of *Sairam* was at that time inhabited by a Mohammedan population; but he says explicitly that the governor of the city was a Mohammedan; and it is quite in harmony with the tolerant spirit of Tchinguiz khan in matters of religion, that the remaining inhabitants were allowed to retain their Mohammedan customs without interference. The Mohammedan calendar dates from July 15th. A. D. 622. The year consists of 12 lunar months of 30 and 29 days alternately, with an intercalary day added to the 12th month at intervals of two and three years, making 11 intercalary days every 30 years. It is easy to calculate any year from these data; but Mr. Sédillot has published a table of the first day of each hegiral year up to A. D. 1882. From this table we see that the first day of the hegiral year 618 was Thursday, February 24th, A. D. 1221.† Consequently the 1st of the Mohammedan (or hegiral) 10th month,—which was the Chinese 11th month,—would be November 16th. But the narrative says they held the yearly festival on the 4th of the (Chinese) month. How was this? To understand this, it must be remembered, that the Mohammedans were accustomed to determine the first day of the month, not by astronomical calculation, but by the time of the first appearance of the new moon. It must be remembered also, that the Mohammedan day, like our astronomical day, began at noon. The new moon would be invisible on the first and probably the second day after conjunction; and we may suppose they first got a sight of it on the evening or night of the third day; so that the 1st day of the popular month would begin on the Chinese (or true) 4th day (November 20th) at noon. The Chinese text is 傍午相賀 "Just about noon they passed

* "Observations Mathématiques, Astronomiques, Géographiques, Chronologiques, et Physiques," par Etienne Souciet, tome iii, p. 351.

† *Traité du Calendrier Arabe*, p. xxiv.

mutual congratulations." The sight was one which must have vividly recalled to the minds of the Chinese travellers the new-year custom of their native country. In Milne's *Life in China*, p. 416, is a translation of a Chinese Mohammedan almanac, in which the 10th month (Shawul) has the following note :—"The whole month is a festival of congratulation." The Chinese scholar Tung Yew-ching quoted above, remarks that the 9th month ends with a day of fasting ; and we see by Mr. Sédillot's tract, that the 1st day of the 10th month is a fixed festival, entitled the "Fête of the great Beïram," i. e. the conclusion of the fast *A'id-al-fethr*. Thus the passage in question,—which at first sight looks incongruous,—is in perfect harmony with the facts of the case.







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